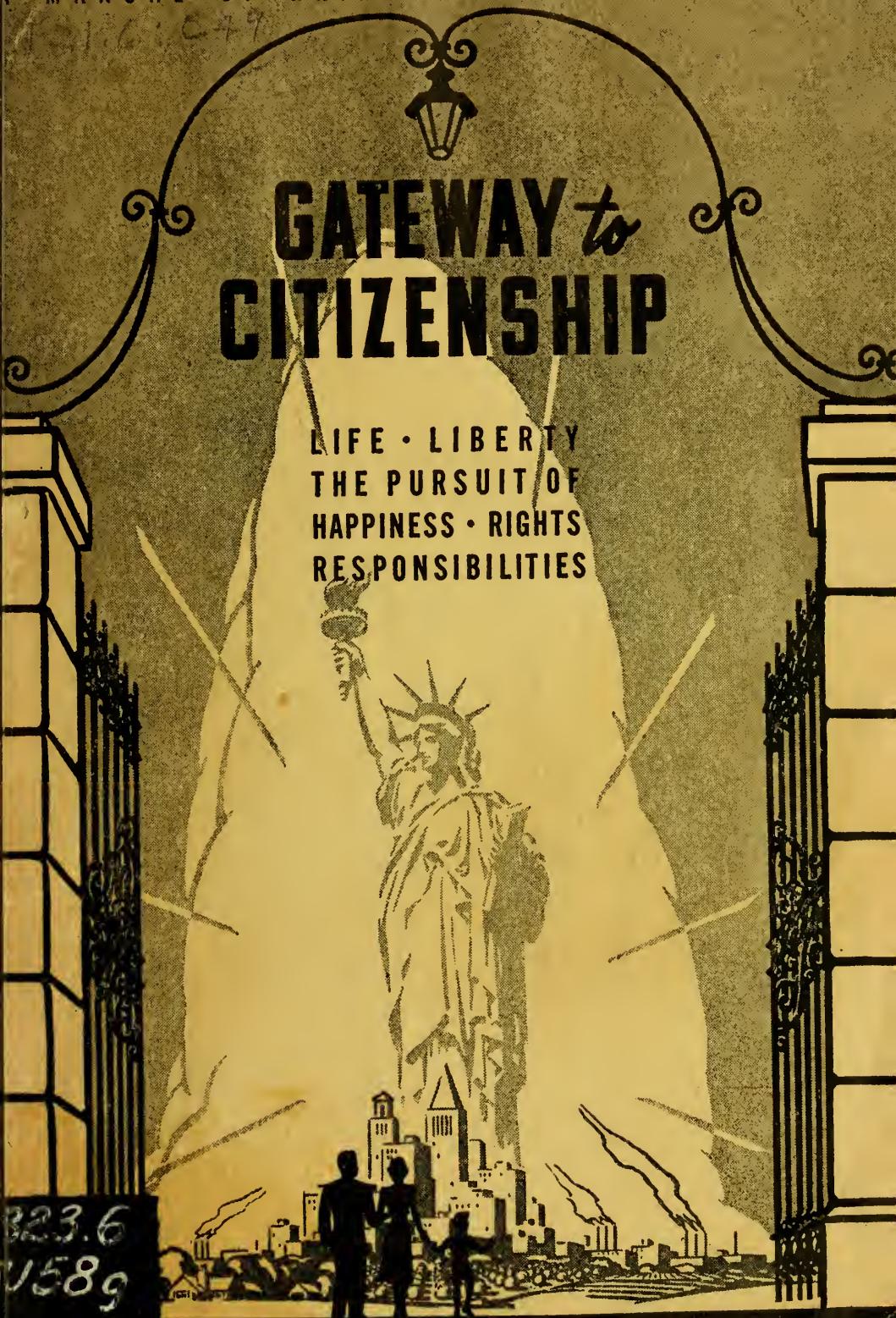


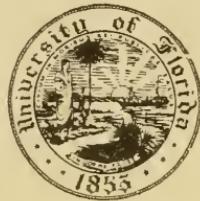
GATEWAY to CITIZENSHIP

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THE
Gateway to Citizenship

A MANUAL OF PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES FOR USE
BY MEMBERS OF THE BENCH AND BAR, THE STAFF OF
THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, CIVIL
AND EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES, AND PATRIOTIC ORGANI-
ZATIONS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DIGNIFY AND EMPHASIZE
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CITIZENSHIP

by CARL B. HYATT

Specialist in Education

Immigration and Naturalization Service

Department of Justice

in cooperation with

*the Committees on American Citizenship
of the*

American Bar Association

and the

Federal Bar Association

+

Edited by

Edwina Austin Avery



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Francis Biddle, Attorney General

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
Earl G. Harrison, Commissioner

II

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The Four Freedoms

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT



In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God—in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation.

Excerpt from Message to the Congress, January 6, 1941

SUFFICIENT DIGNITY has not been given in many instances to the naturalization of new American citizens. Those who enjoy citizenship from birthright do not always appreciate what it means. To the newcomer, however, the acquisition of citizenship is a great and significant event. It is the fulfillment of the aspiration which moved him to come here seeking a broader freedom. The choice has often been hard—to give up the old loyalties and accept the new loyalty. We need then to become more aware of the importance to the new citizen of the induction ceremony and to clothe it with the dignity and impressiveness that the moment signifies.—FRANCIS BIDDLE, *Attorney General of the United States*.

CONCURRING AS I DO so enthusiastically in the observations made by the Attorney General, I hail this publication in a spirit of real anticipation. I feel a sense of personal and official gratitude for the interest of the Bench and Bar in the subject matter. I pay tribute to those judges who for years have insisted upon making more out of the induction ceremony than a routine matter. Under the stimulation of this volume, I hope for a substantial extension of their pioneering efforts. We in this Service know how much it will mean to generations of new Americans.—EARL G. HARRISON, *Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*.

PROBABLY EVERY CITIZEN of the United States would have a sharper impression of the importance of his citizenship if his attaining that objective had something of a ritualistic aspect. There could be, with profit, a modern counterpart of the procedure in which the Roman father brought his son to the Forum for his induction into Roman citizenship. Possibly that sort of thing is too much to ask in a business-busy world, but ceremony is appropriate for the naturalized citizen. It should be effective ceremony. This publication is a sincere effort to prescribe the forms into which those at the scene will breathe life.—GEORGE MAURICE MORRIS, *President, American Bar Association*.

THE AMERICAN LAWYER, having out of his specialized knowledge and experience contributed so much to the creation and preservation of our great democratic institutions, probably senses above all others the irreplaceable treasure inherent in American citizenship. It is for this reason that he gladly lends his heartiest support to any effort that will tend to emphasize and exalt the significance of that citizenship. He sees in the induction ceremony a real medium for implanting and preserving the spirit of America in the minds and hearts of all Americans—both new and native-born.—ROBERT NELSON ANDERSON, *President, Federal Bar Association*.

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Preface

THE PURPOSE of this manual, *The Gateway to Citizenship*, is to assist members of the Bench and Bar, the staff of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other interested workers to dignify and emphasize the importance of citizenship, particularly in relation to the ceremonies marking the culmination of the naturalization process.

Although an official publication of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the manual is the result of a process of study initiated by the National Citizenship Education Program and carried on from beginning to end in closest cooperation with the Citizenship Committees of the American Bar and the Federal Bar Associations.

In no sense is this publication a collection of directives. Rather it is a series of suggestions, ideas, and materials gathered from survey of practices everywhere. It is hoped that from study of its contents may come an increase in emphasis on the importance of becoming a citizen and the dignification of the process so important to our country in war and in peace.

Appreciation is expressed to all those individuals and organizations who assisted in the preparation of this manual; especially to the Citizenship Committees of the two Bar Associations; to Herbert F. Goodrich, Justice of the United States Court of Appeals, Third Circuit, who, as Chairman of the Citizenship Committee of the American Bar Association, served in an advisory capacity; to Justice Justin Miller of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, Chairman of the War Work Committee of the Federal Bar Association, who for many years has advocated improvement of the ceremony for the induction of persons into citizenship and has been a constant advisor in the preparation of this manual; to all the judges and members of the Bar who have expressed themselves in connection with this subject. In addition, grateful acknowledgment is made to the United States Office of Education and to the National Education Association for their cooperation and for permission to use certain material from their publications, and to all others whose writings are cited in this manual either by reference in footnotes or by inclusion in the source materials.

WILLIAM F. RUSSELL, *Director,*
National Citizenship Education Program.

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The

Naturalization Ceremony

The American dream was not the product of a solitary thinker. It evolved from the hearts and burdened souls of many millions, who have come to us from all nations.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.

Historical Background

OUT OF THE ETERNAL LONGING and quest for freedom, the story of this country has been written. Millions from many far-away lands crossed strange oceans and came here to realize their dream of liberty. The dreams and visions that they realized in turn became a part of America.¹

The foreign born of yesterday and the foreign born of today present no new story. Both wrote chapters in the saga of America. Like the Pilgrim fathers of old, many of the present-day immigrants fled their native lands to escape bitterness, intolerance, and oppression. Some brought to this country little except courage and hope. Others brought something more: precious skills and talents in science, music, art, and in other fields. Each of these made his contribution, building, renewing, and enriching this great nation and making it the inspiration of liberty-loving and oppressed peoples everywhere.

The immigrants of today follow the same road to citizenship that was taken by our forefathers. Long ago² Congress established the judicial way as the road from foreign allegiance to United States citizenship. Through the portals of the courtroom pass the immigrants to receive this citizenship. Since 1790, when the first Naturalization law was passed by Congress, naturalization has been a judicial procedure. Attention, therefore, focuses on the induction ceremony—the climax of the naturalization process—which clothes a foreigner “with the privileges of a native citizen.”³

¹“Americans All—Immigrants All. This is the story of how you, the people of the United States, made America—you and your neighbors, your parents and theirs. It is the story of the most spectacular movement of humanity in all recorded time—the movement of millions of men, women, and children from other lands to the land they made their own. It is the story of what they endured and accomplished—and it is also the story of what this country did for them. Americans All—Immigrants All.” Opening paragraph of “Americans All—Immigrants All.” United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

² Act of March 26, 1790, 1 Stat. 103.

³ From a definition approved by the United States Supreme Court: “Naturalization is the act of adopting a foreigner and clothing him with the privileges of a native citizen.” *Boyd v. Thayer* (1892) 143 U. S. 162; (1859) 9 Op. Atty. Gen. 359.

Although the Constitution provided that Congress shall have the power "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization,"⁴ until 1906 aliens were admitted to citizenship largely in accordance with the wisdom and method of the individual judge. Both Federal and State courts were charged with responsibility for naturalizing new citizens, but they were far from being uniform in their rulings and practices. For example, there was no uniform rule as to the number of witnesses required for each petitioner. Nor was there uniformity in record keeping. Even the type of naturalization document that the court issued depended somewhat upon the printer from whom the clerk of the court got his supplies.

Toward the end of the last century and in the early years of the present, aliens in great numbers were exploited for political and industrial purposes. Fraud was prevalent in many jurisdictions. Just preceding election, in many instances, aliens were "rounded up" and taken to the office of the clerk of the court or before a political judge. Thereupon, naturalization papers were made out. Many of the new citizens were "run through the hopper" for purely selfish considerations, either political or industrial. Nothing was said or done during the inducting process that stressed the value of citizenship, or its obligations. The Nation's greatest gift was bestowed with little or no dignity and with no recognition of what citizenship really meant. These shameful practices finally led to an investigation that resulted in the enactment of a basic naturalization law by Congress in 1906. Of special significance in this law was the provision that enabled the Federal Government to set up an executive bureau (The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, in the Department of Commerce and Labor)⁵ to administer and supervise the processes of naturalization.

Improvement in the entire naturalization process immediately followed. The vicious practice of "rushing" naturalization cases for political purposes was practically ended by the provision for

⁴ United States Constitution, Art. I, Section 8 (4).

⁵ The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization of the Department of Commerce and Labor was transferred in 1913 to the newly created Department of Labor, where it was divided into two bureaus known as the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Naturalization. In 1933 the two bureaus were again merged under the title of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This agency remained in the Department of Labor until June 1940, at which time it was transferred to the Department of Justice.

bidding the naturalizing of any person or the issuance of any certificate of naturalization during the 30 days preceding a general election within the area of the court's jurisdiction. Having administrative control, the Immigration and Naturalization Service worked toward uniform standards for examinations and toward uniformity in forms and record keeping. The removal of selfish outside pressure and the improvement in procedures opened the way for a new spirit to permeate the process of naturalization.

Although the Act of 1906 established no educational standard for the petitioner, except that he be able to sign his name, speak the English language, and satisfy the court that he was "attached" to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, the courts almost uniformly held that the applicant for citizenship could not be "attached" to the principles of the Constitution if he did not know what the Constitution contained. Many of the courts also held that the applicant not only should understand the Constitution, but that he should have a knowledge of the Declaration of Independence, vitally related to it, and of the early history of the United States. This resulted in the development of a system of examining applicants for citizenship to determine their attitude toward our government and their knowledge of the Constitution and history of our country.

In recent years there has been an increasing tendency to hold inductions in Federal courts rather than in State courts. Approximately 65 percent of the inductions now take place in the Federal courts, whereas in earlier years most cases were handled in the State courts.

In the Federal courts, practically all the examinations and investigations of prospective citizens are now made by the examiners of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. At the present time about 99 percent of those recommended by the examiners are accepted without question by the Federal courts. The appearance of witnesses for the petitioner at the final hearing is not now generally required either in the Federal or State courts. This elimination of witnesses from appearance in the courtroom, together with the court's acceptance of the report of the examiner without further examination of the petitioner, gives the court more time for making citizenship induction an impressive occasion.

An increasing number of judges are subscribing to the theory that applicants should have a complete understanding of the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of citizenship before taking the oath of allegiance. This latter development marks the first definite step away from the routine court induction of the past toward a better and more inspirational process for the future.

Present induction procedure is, in far too many instances, still not in keeping with the significance and importance of the occasion. Partial responsibility for this failure lies in the fact that approximately 2,000 courts exercise responsibility for naturalizing new citizens. Although each court determines the same qualifications for citizenship and administers the same oath by which the applicant forswears his previous allegiance and pledges his loyalty to the United States, they frequently differ in practices and conditions under which they operate. In many instances, also, the court is highly local in nature and reflects the strengths or weaknesses of its particular locality or leadership.

Furthermore, many courts are handicapped by large naturalization classes, small courtrooms, and heavy calendars. To some, these conditions have been so discouraging that no attempt has been made to make the induction proceedings inspirational. Some applicants for citizenship, ushered into a crowded courtroom by court attendants in much the same manner as persons appearing before the court on criminal charges and inducted into citizenship between hearings of criminal cases, unfortunately, have even been dealt with as though they were potential criminals rather than potential citizens. The results have been bewilderment, disillusionment, and even relief when the trying experience is over, rather than inspiration.

In sharp contrast other courts with just as large classes, just as crowded courtrooms, and just as heavy calendars have been challenged rather than dismayed by these conditions, and have given an emotional uplift to the awarding of the cloak of American citizenship. By their courtroom ceremonials, these courts have endeavored to interpret the meaning and the full significance of the life being entered through naturalization. They have pointed out that our government belongs to the people and that the people should share the responsibilities of our government, and have

stressed other obligations and responsibilities of the new citizen. They have expanded the process of oath taking into an impressive ceremony that honors and dignifies American citizenship. In these efforts the courts have had support and assistance. Patriotic, educational,⁶ civic, and fraternal organizations, as well as individuals, have become interested and contributed their services to make naturalization proceedings dignified and effective.

In addition to these efforts the following steps on a much broader scale have been taken recently for the improvement of induction proceedings. In 1940 Congress passed a joint resolution⁷ which reads in part as follows:

Either at the time of the rendition of the decree of naturalization, or at such other time as the judge may fix, the judge or someone designated by him shall address the newly naturalized citizens upon the form and genius of our government and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship; it being the intent and purpose of this section to enlist the aid of the judiciary, in cooperation, with civil and education authorities, and patriotic organizations in a continuous effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship.

Shortly after the passage by Congress of this joint resolution, the President of the United States issued a proclamation putting the resolution into effect, a part of which says:

Now, Therefore, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, pursuant to the aforesaid Public Resolution (of May 3, 1940), hereby designate Sunday, May 19, 1940, as "I Am An American Day" and I urge that the day be observed as a public occasion in recognition of our citizens who have attained their majority or who have been naturalized within the past year.

Since 1940, similar presidential proclamations have been issued annually. Thus, the legislative and executive branches of the national government have recognized the importance of dignifying the acquisition of citizenship.

In the late spring of 1942, Justice Justin Miller, of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, acting in an

⁶ Since 1932 a proposal has been in the platform of the National Education Association which reads as follows: "Provision should be made to receive all persons into citizenship with suitable ceremony."

⁷ House Joint Resolution No. 437, Public Resolution 67 (1940) 76th Congress, 3rd Session, 54 Stat. 178, 8 U. S. C. Sec. 727a.

intermediary capacity for the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice and the Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency, wrote to Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone regarding certain proposals that might be helpful in carrying out the intent of the joint resolution. These proposals were: A resolution to be presented to the Conference of Senior Circuit Judges calling attention to the Congressional Resolution and urging all Federal judges to do whatever they can to carry out its purpose; a request for consideration of the subject by each judicial circuit conference; a suggestion that the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts designate a member of his staff to maintain a depository of information and to answer questions; and a request that information be collected from district judges concerning methods of cooperation and ceremonial procedures that they have used.⁸

Following the receipt of a favorable reply from Chief Justice Stone, Justice Miller wrote to many United States district judges in different parts of the country, asking them for information regarding the procedures and practices in their naturalization courts and for suggestions. The replies received were generally in favor of the suggestion, approved by the Chief Justice, "to emphasize the dignity and solemnity of the procedure for naturalizing our new citizens."⁹ In addition, many valuable suggestions were furnished for improving citizenship induction. The data in these letters are reinforced and supplemented by the New Citizens Day File of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which contains many reports on induction proceedings throughout the country.

In some instances, both letters and file reveal notable improvement in citizenship induction; in other instances, they disclose a real need for improvement. Most heartening is the genuine desire

⁸ JUSTIN MILLER, Associate Justice, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. TO DIGNIFY AND EMPHASIZE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CITIZENSHIP. American Bar Association Journal. November 1942.

⁹ Excerpt from letter written by Chief Justice Stone to Justice Miller under date of June 2, 1942: "I very heartily agree that anything that can be done to emphasize the dignity and solemnity of the procedure of naturalizing our new citizens should be done, and I am quite sure that the Conference of Senior Circuit Judges would welcome an opportunity to do something to further so worthy a cause. I answer specifically in the affirmative all the questions which you asked in your letter."

many judges express in their letters on the subject to achieve the purpose of the joint resolution of dignifying and emphasizing the significance of citizenship.

At the request of the Chief Justice, the subject of more impressive procedures for admission to United States citizenship through naturalization was put on the agenda for consideration by the Conference of Senior Circuit Judges in their Judicial Conference, September Session 1942. In his address to the Conference, the Honorable Francis Biddle, Attorney General of the United States, "stressed the importance of conducting proceedings in naturalization cases in a more dignified manner than is generally the case at present, and urged that all district courts should regularly entertain petitions for naturalization."¹⁰

The action taken by the Senior Judges is described in the following excerpt from a report of the Conference:

Naturalization Proceedings: The conference thought it desirable that the dignity and importance of admission to United States citizenship through naturalization should be stressed in all naturalization proceedings. It therefore adopted the following resolution:

"That all Federal judges be requested to aid in whatever manner possible in carrying out the joint resolution of Congress of May 3, 1940, 54 Stat. 178, and in enhancing the dignity of all stages of the naturalization proceedings."¹¹

¹⁰ Report of The Judicial Conference, September Session 1942, p. 3.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 15.

Significance of the Ceremony

DOWN THROUGH THE AGES the bestowal of privileges and the acceptance of responsibilities have been occasions for solemn ceremonies.¹² Among the American Indians the young men who had proved their skills and abilities were, in a ceremony of great dignity, admitted to the "status of the brave" with the privilege of sharing in the responsibilities of the council of the tribe. Churches, and fraternal, social, and other organizations initiate their new members with a ceremony which is intended to convey an understanding of the meaning and significance of the pledges that are given and the vows that are taken. High school and university authorities maintain the ceremonial of commencement. They are conscious of the emotional tides that influence most people, and they recognize that the commencement ceremonial creates a state of elation that holds great possibilities. The acquisition of citizenship is also a commencement. It is the beginning of a journey that vitally affects the life of the new citizen.

Therefore, it is logical to have an impressive ceremony for induction into the finest fraternity known to man—that of United States citizenship. The time when the alien completes his course in citizenship and stands before other American citizens, qualified and willing to become one of them and ready to shoulder his responsibility in the conduct of government, should be made impressive as a reminder to him of the sanctity of the obligation that he is assuming.

¹² CLARENCE DYKSTRA, president, University of Wisconsin. Excerpt from an address entitled *The Challenge of the Hard Road*. "Our tribal ancestors recognized the transition from boyhood to manhood with solemn ceremonies. The dedication of young men to the service of the tribe and the assumption of responsibilities by the individual for the social group were the climax in the lives of the youth. Trials and tortures of many kinds preceded the initiation ceremony. During this period of preparation the young braves were made thoroughly familiar with the tribal history, customs, and rituals.

"The initiation rites were sacred undertakings of a deeply religious character. Their significance was attested by the fact that from that moment on the initiate was presumed to be *invested with a new purpose and a new strength*. [Italics supplied.] As an earnest of this new life the youth was given a new garment and a new name as the tribe, amid wild rejoicing, proclaimed him a man."

The courtroom ceremonial becomes the climax or the peak of the process of naturalization. Years of preparation spent in acquiring the qualifications of citizenship lie behind the ceremonial. In traveling this long road the prospective citizen should acquire something more than the routine answers to certain questions regarding the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, or the history of the United States. Such answers may enable the petitioner to "pass" the examination and get his certificate of naturalization, but he can play the role of a good citizen of the United States only if during those years he has learned, and experienced, something of the spirit of this country. From the date of his entry into the United States, when he has his first contact with representatives of our government, to the time when the court bestows upon him citizenship, the most precious gift that this country has to offer, a continuing responsibility rests upon those who guide him along the path to citizenship to instill in him, by word and by example, the spirit of this land.¹³

The courtroom ceremonial can and should be a gripping scene featuring the alien's entrance into the fraternity of citizenship. The last act of his life as an alien and the first act of his life as a citizen of the United States, should be performed in such a manner as to stamp them in his memory as among the most stirring and unforgettable experiences of his life. Recognition should be given to the fact that impressions received at this time carry great and continuing possibilities for good or ill, as the time of induction offers an occasion when the alien is emotionally¹⁴ receptive and

¹³ PHILLIP FORMAN, Judge, United States District Court, District of New Jersey: "No amount of ceremonial at the time that citizenship is finally presented can erase from the mind of the petitioner brusque and harsh treatment received during the course of the prosecution of his application."

¹⁴ EVA LIPS. *REBIRTH IN LIBERTY*. New York. 1942. [p. 267.] "But there must have been others in that room, people who had considered the process of their Americanization as a painful and yet finally triumphant expression of high responsibility; people who had come there that day with a passionate heart; people whose eyes flowed over at the sight of Old Glory; people who carried in their minds the countenance of Abraham Lincoln; people who were ready to dedicate their abilities, their enthusiasm, their blood to this beloved land; people who had prayed the night before to their God to make them humble enough, worthy enough to receive in this sacred hour with dignity the confirmation of their American citizenship."

especially susceptible to serious and solemn reflections¹⁵ concerning the responsibilities of citizenship.

United States citizenship¹⁶ is a glorious possession representing the dreams and the struggles of men for centuries. The charter of human liberty—our Bill of Rights—was obtained at a high price. A voice in our Government, freedom in our worship, freedom in our business—all the freedoms of human aspiration—did not come into being by accident.¹⁷ They were achieved through struggles, suffering, and sacrifice. Victims of terror, torture, and oppression made their contributions in the distant past. Men from dark dungeons, corpses swinging from gallows, human torches lit by the flames of intolerance, victims of the Inquisition, patriots who suffered and died at Valley Forge and on other battlefields of freedom, and all others who made the supreme sacrifice while seeking human rights, have played their part in the framing of our Bill of Rights.

The courtroom ceremonial can stimulate in the new citizen a genuine enthusiasm for the democratic processes and his opportunities in this country. We of the United States are constantly striving to expand liberty and freedom, while many of the new citizens come from countries run by dictators who are striving to expand their empires and destroy liberty and freedom. The significance of such a change in citizenship should not go unrecognized at induction time.

¹⁵ Excerpt from editorial, Tampa Daily Times, Tampa, Fla., May 24, 1939; "Of course, the daily practice of democracy and Americanism is vastly more important than any ceremonial observance but such ceremonies do furnish an opportunity for solemn reflection on the duties and privileges of citizenship."

¹⁶ Pittsburgh Press, May 15, 1941: "To be a citizen of the United States is indeed something. The Apostle Paul arrested in connection with a riot in Jerusalem was able proudly to tell the centurion: 'I am a man * * * of Tarsus * * * a citizen of no mean city,' and demand to be heard. So men and women of the United States are citizens of no mean country and they have every reason to wear their citizenship proudly."

¹⁷ MARION D. PATTERSON, Judge, Blair County Court, Altoona, Pa. Excerpt from an address to newly naturalized citizens: "This government cost our forefathers long-suffering pain and death. They gave their lifeblood that you and I today might enjoy freedom under that flag. Native-born and new citizens should ever be reminded of the cost of the founding of the government of the United States. It didn't happen by accident. It was the result of a long and trying struggle for liberty now guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States."

Through the naturalization ceremony the spirit of liberty and freedom can be born in the minds and hearts of new citizens and renewed in those of native-born. When the naturalization court, civil and educational authorities, patriotic organizations, and individuals, cooperate in an impressive induction ceremony, the new citizen not only feels honored with his citizenship but is impressed with the fact that he has become an integral part of the community in which he, too, has responsibility. In turn, those who are already citizens¹⁸ can be made better citizens by welcoming, and witnessing the appreciation of, the foreign born who are becoming Americans by choice rather than by accident of birth. When the new and native-born citizens come together for a common ideal—one pledging his allegiance, the other renewing his loyalty—both add to the unity, which has been, and is, the strength of this nation.

¹⁸ Brig. Gen. FRANK T. HINES, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs. Excerpt from address delivered at Flag Day exercises, Altoona, Pa., June 15, 1939. "The matter of ceremonials in induction of new citizens gives special significance to citizenship. Had it not been for those ceremonies many of us who are already citizens might have been content to take our citizenship responsibilities lightly and unthinkingly, but an impressive program of citizenship induction climaxes the road to citizenship for new citizens and also challenges those of us already citizens to take our proper place in the affairs of government."

The Court Ceremony

NO RIGID PROGRAM can be laid down for any court. Each court, recognizing the significance of induction into citizenship, must face its own problems and chart its own procedures. The steps taken by each to comply with the purpose of the joint resolution of Congress will necessarily be different.¹⁹ Evidently the Congress recognized the varying situations of the courts, as the language of the joint resolution is sufficiently broad and elastic²⁰ to meet the desires of any court at any time. No single induction ceremony, even within the same court, need be exactly like any other, so long as each conforms to the minimum essentials.

The essentials for compliance with the spirit of the joint resolution would seem to be: (1) the rendering of the decree of naturalization; (2) the administering of the oath; (3) the delivery of an address by the judge or someone designated by him, and (4) some participation by "civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations." The discussion that follows will not concern itself with the minimum essentials alone but will deal with practices and procedures in naturalization courts that extend beyond the scope of such essentials. The purpose of so doing is to be of assistance to any court that may desire to expand its induction ceremony beyond the minimum requirements in order to meet its own peculiar needs.

As previously indicated, the naturalization courts of the United States present differences in viewpoint and practice because of local conditions and leadership. For example, courts

¹⁹ F. DICKINSON LETTS, Associate Justice, United States District Court for the District of Columbia. "Conditions are so varied throughout the country that I am inclined to believe that it is impractical to prescribe a uniform procedure. What can be done in a country town, perhaps would not succeed in one of our larger cities. I am convinced that with appropriate leadership ceremonials can be planned to suit any community which will be inspirational and helpful to the new citizens and lead to rededication to our genius of government by citizens who sponsor the effort."

²⁰ GASTON L. PORTERIE, Judge, United States District Court, Western District of Louisiana. "* * * The language is quite elastic and will permit in practice the application of various types of ceremony appropriate to the particular instances of naturalization."

that have heavy calendars and crowded courtrooms afford less opportunity for elaborate ceremonies than do those that have time and space available where induction proceedings can be carried on more leisurely. Also, situations may arise in which individuals, for example men in the military service,²¹ must be admitted singly and at irregular intervals rather than in classes. In the latter circumstances, the intimate and sympathetic touch of the judge and his court officials must take the place of a more formal ceremony.

Although freedom is desirable in selecting the procedures applicable to the needs of the particular community or the particular occasion of induction, it is believed that, within the framework of the joint resolution, some general procedures can be developed that will insure an orderly flow of events, and thus save time and detailed planning on the part of court officials.²² This will not interfere with local differences, or the expression of initiative, imagination, and resourcefulness. If anything, all the essential differences, which contribute variety to induction proceedings, will be made more effective by the establishment of a more or less uniform order of events.²³

The induction ceremony should be stripped clean of everything that fails to reflect basic ideas concerning citizenship. If the ceremonial portrays and makes impressive these ideas, then it cannot be challenged as a show or a dramatic spectacle. Those in charge must direct each and every procedure toward the end of emphasizing the worth of citizenship; otherwise the ceremony can become subject to criticism.

²¹ BASCOM S. DEAVER, Judge, United States District Court, Middle District of Georgia. "For example, on last Monday we admitted one soldier to citizenship. He had only a three day leave of absence and rode a bus all the way from Fort Smith, Arkansas. On an occasion like that there does not exist the proper atmosphere for a formal ceremony which would accomplish the purpose intended."

²² JOHN CASKIE COLLET, Judge, United States District Court, Eastern and Western Districts of Missouri. "* * * Many of us are not as resourceful in devising appropriate ceremonials as others and if we have a more or less standardized procedure there is much greater likelihood of an appropriate ceremonial being observed than there would be if the individual judge was left to his own devices to conceive a proper procedure."

²³ JOSEPH C. HUTCHESON, JR., Judge, United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. "* * * Allowing full play for local differentiations, a general arrangement having uniform characteristics of dignity and appropriateness could be worked out."

Time and Place

The selection of the time and place for holding an induction ceremony, of course, depends upon the type of ceremony planned and the local situation. Judges generally favor the practice of having naturalization hearings in the courtroom, in the daytime, and during the regular court week. If time and space are adequate, the courtroom is perhaps the proper place and the daytime of the regular court week the proper time for holding of such ceremonies.

However, the time or place of induction is not as important as the induction itself. If naturalization proceedings have to be wedged in among arraignments, motions, and unrelated activities; if petitioners must be crowded into courtrooms and lined along the walls, or kept waiting in huddles outside the courtroom; if they must be hurried through proceedings by tired or harassed judges, then, in order to carry out the purpose of the joint resolution, it is preferable to hold court for citizenship induction away from the courtroom and at a time when the event can be made one of significance.²⁴ In view of the fact that every final hearing must, by law, be had "in open court,"²⁵ the place where the hearing is to be held should be duly designated by the court as the "courtroom."

When the ceremony is held in some place other than the courtroom, judicial procedures should be carefully followed. This is not impossible, as they can be followed and made impressive in a place far removed from the courtroom. The truth of this is evidenced by Presidential inaugurations in the Nation's Capital.

Congress, a few years ago, recognized the welfare of the individual as paramount to customary requirements of time and place in the Federal procedure when it passed the Federal Juvenile Delinquency Act,²⁶ which enables a United States District Judge

²⁴ DAN PYLE, Judge, St. Joseph's Circuit Court, South Bend, Ind. "The meetings were first held in the courtroom. This soon proved to be too small and we have been going from one auditorium to another to accommodate the crowd until we have reached our largest auditorium which seats about thirty-five hundred people. Some of our audiences, I would estimate, have reached the number of approximately three thousand to thirty-two hundred."

²⁵ Sec. 334 (a) Nationality Act of 1940; U. S. Code, Title 8, Sec. 734 (a). The final hearing should not be held in chambers; see *U. S. v. Ginsberg* (1917) 243 U. S. 472, 37 S. Ct. 422, 61 W. Ed. 853.

²⁶ U. S. Code, Title 18, Sec. 921-929.

to hear the case of a Federal juvenile offender at "any time and place, * * *."

In recent years many college and university presidents have faced problems similar to those encountered by some judges. As graduation classes have grown larger, with an accompanying increase of relatives and friends, the school officials have been compelled to abandon the old college chapels in which commencement exercises were held, and use larger auditoriums, or even stadia erected primarily for athletic purposes.

Some judges, even before the passage of the joint resolution, began to deal with the problem of time and space by setting aside a day for naturalization during which no other business was transacted. Several judges devote one or more Saturdays each month to naturalization work. By setting aside a day that is outside of the general trial week, they can easily keep it clear for naturalization purposes.²⁷ Others have held, and recommend, evening sessions. The judges who have held both day and evening sessions of court are in a position to contrast the hurried, perfunctory, daytime proceedings with more leisurely evening sessions. In speaking of some of the daytime sessions over which he has presided, one judge says: "* * * The proceedings have been too perfunctory and have been lacking in essential dignity. It is not uncommon to see the applicants for citizenship appear in court for induction in their work clothes and frequently in their shirt sleeves. It is possible that in such situations the applicant is relieved from his employment for the brief period necessary to attend the court session." In speaking of evening sessions over which he has also presided, he expressed himself differently: "* * * All the applicants and friends came dressed in their best apparel. * * * Before the convening and after adjournment there was a clustering about the courtroom engendering a spirit of fellowship. Some years ago as a Judge of the Seventh Judicial District in Iowa, I conducted evening sessions of court. May I suggest

²⁷ PHILLIP FORMAN, Judge, United States District Court, District of New Jersey. "I devote the third Saturday of each month to naturalization work unless occasion requires special days to be fixed. * * * By utilizing Saturday for this work it is taken out of the general trial week running from Monday through Friday and the courtroom is clear for naturalization proceedings."

that evening sessions of court for the induction of new citizens be tried?"²⁸

Both the Saturday and evening sessions, the latter particularly, not only bring some relief from the pressure on the court, but eliminate the criminal court atmosphere and other related phases of court work that have no bearing on naturalization proceedings. Also, the evening sessions offer a greater opportunity for friends, relatives, bar associations, civil and educational authorities, and patriotic organizations, to be present, either for personal reasons or for the purpose of cooperating with the judge in carrying out the spirit of the joint resolution.

Preliminary Procedures

Several judges, in order to conserve the time of the court, have eliminated from the induction ceremony many tedious and time consuming details. These have been disposed of in various ways: through the examiner, the clerk's office, or through hearings held in a second courtroom just prior to the main ceremony.²⁹ Special or contested cases are heard earlier so that those applicants who are eligible may join the class to be presented in the main courtroom. This procedure makes for a better induction service, as it prevents the injection of controversial matters into the induction ceremony with consequent delay and harm to the appropriate emotional atmosphere. In fact, all activities not absolutely essential to induction purposes should be completed beforehand, so that nothing will interfere with the smooth functioning of the court at the time of induction.

²⁸ F. DICKINSON LETTS, Associate Justice, United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

²⁹ PHILLIP FORMAN, Judge, United States District Court, District of New Jersey. "Although each group numbers an average of one hundred or more, mechanics of the program have been efficiently arranged prior to the time fixed for the ceremony. Special or contested cases have been called for an hour earlier and are disposed of so that those entitled to be admitted may join the class. Photographs and signatures are appended to the certificates and they are perfected just prior to the ceremony. Tedious delay is avoided in so far as possible by staggering the intervals at which the applicants are invited to report. A second courtroom is used for the mechanical work and the applicant is finally ushered into our largest courtroom for the ceremony. All this requires patient and tactful cooperation upon the part of the employees of the court and the Naturalization Department."

Opening of Court

Unless ceremonial arrangements provide otherwise, the prospective citizens should be properly ushered, before the opening of court, to an appropriate place³⁰ set aside for them where they can see and hear, and reflect upon the events that take place. Patient, painstaking, and tactful cooperation between the employees of the court and others, particularly members of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, can do much toward insuring not only a good opening of court but a smooth running and dignified procedure throughout the induction ceremony.

In some jurisdictions, the opening of court is meaningful; in others, the opposite is true. In some courts, the mumbled words, especially their significance, appear to be little understood by the court crier, and, because of the way in which they are uttered, are even less understood by most of those attending court. The solemnity with which court is opened influences, in a large measure, the solemnity of the courtroom audience and their attentiveness to the proceedings. Also, it may often reflect itself in the proceedings that follow. An unimpressive opening handicaps the efforts of those who strive to obtain dignity and impressiveness in later proceedings—just as an impressive one helps this objective.

When the Court Crier of the Supreme Court stands and announces: "The Honorable, The Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States!", and concludes with the unforgettable expression: "God save the United States and this Honorable Court," one feels a spirit of reverence, coupled with a sense of pride, at being in the presence of the Court which protects and defends our Constitution.

A similar effect can be achieved at the opening of the lesser courts to which the future citizen comes to receive his citizenship. Every officer of the court should be in his place as the time approaches for opening. Murmuring, laughing, and talking should cease; all should stand and the courtroom become absolutely quiet as the judge enters, and as the court crier clearly, deliberately,

³⁰ JOHN E. MILLER, Judge, United States District Court, Western District of Arkansas.
"The applicants are all seated at a convenient place in the courtroom, usually within the bar, and the court is convened in full ceremony."

and solemnly opens court. Like the opening of the Supreme Court, the occasion can help to give those present a feeling of security and faith in the government which is protected by courts such as these.

The Flag

After the opening of court, many judges include in their ritual the advancing of the colors by members of a patriotic organization. Whether this particular procedure is followed or not, there should be an appropriate display of the American flag as the emblem of liberty and the unity of our Nation.

Music

Although music is not generally used in the induction ceremony, some judges consider music, especially that of the patriotic type, an inspirational contribution. As one of the main objectives of the ceremony is to strengthen the loyalty of the new citizen to the land of his adoption, they believe that there is no objection to the use of music appropriate to the occasion such as: The Star Spangled Banner; America; The Stars and Stripes Forever; America The Beautiful; or God Bless America.

Invocation

In many of the courts an invocation is pronounced.³¹ If this is made a part of the ceremony, it is advisable to follow the practice of rotating this duty among the representatives of the various religious groups in the community.

Presentation of Candidates

Perhaps at no stage in the induction ceremony are there more local variations than at the presentation, or examination, of candidates for the decree of naturalization. In courts that have large classes and frequent hearings, the holding of individual examina-

³¹ HARRY E. WATKINS, Judge, United States District Court, Northern and Southern Districts of West Virginia. "We are assembled today for an important and noble purpose—the naturalization of new citizens. In view of the conditions which prevail throughout the world at this moment, it seems particularly fitting that we should commence this session of a United States court of justice by invoking God's blessing."

tions in open court, which sometimes duplicates the examination previously given by the examiners and occasionally covers, in a hurried manner, the entire history of constitutional government, is being discarded as impractical. As such examinations take time, become burdensome, and not infrequently rob citizenship induction of its significance, the better practice would be to conduct them at sometime prior to the induction service (see p. 17). However, a distinction could be made between the courts that do not have time for individual examination and the courts, particularly those with small classes, whose judges do have time in which to deal with individual applicants. Although many judges frankly admit the inapplicability of the individual examination to the courts with large classes, they recognize the merits of such examination when the applicants are few in number.

If the method of individual examination of applicants is followed, this examination should not be in the nature of a review³² of the work previously done by the examiner. It should be along lines designed to establish "an actual human personal relationship between the individual and the court as a representative of the Government."³³ It should be of such a nature as to impress upon

³² E. MARVIN UNDERWOOD, Judge, United States District Court, Northern District of Georgia. "The court, while not undertaking to review the work of the examiner, asks a few questions of each applicant, inquiring about the length of time they have been in this country, the name of their native country, what education they have, and the names of the institutions where they obtained same, and such general questions."

³³ LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, Judge, United States District Court, Eastern District of Washington. "Upon the convening of the court, I ask the naturalization examiner if he has a class, the individuals of which he recommends for citizenship. The clerk then calls the names and each applicant is called before the bench. The examiner states that the individual is an applicant under whatever section of the statute is applicable. He then states that an examination has been made as to the character of the individual and as to his knowledge of American government. He then recommends the admission of that individual to citizenship. I then ask the individual a number of questions. *I attempt to change the question so as to impress upon each individual that I am interested in each one.* [Italics supplied.] I will confess that there is some difficulty involved in so arranging the questions as to make them appear to be peculiarly pertinent to each particular individual. It requires some ingenuity. However, it is in no sense impossible. I am able to ask four or five or six questions of each individual in such a way as to have that individual feel that the court itself has decided that he is worthy of citizenship. I know from the responses that I get and the comments that I have heard that the result of this system has been to completely change the nature of the ceremony from that of a mere formality into a natural, human, personal relationship between the individual and the court as a representative of the Government."

the mind of the petitioner that he is being given the personal attention of the court and that the court itself is personally interested in seeing him become a part of this nation.

However, most courts, especially those with large classes, have adopted the procedure of accepting the favorable recommendation of the designated examiner. The designated examiner is required to submit his findings and recommendations to the court, at or before³⁴ the final hearing. Most of the courts, therefore, are prepared to recognize the examiner, or other official, and accept his report that the applicants presented are duly qualified and eligible for citizenship. This results in a smooth running procedure, which avoids the disturbed state of mind on the part of the applicant that is sometimes caused by an examination in the courtroom. It has also been found that the system of approval or disapproval by examiners in preliminary hearings operates equitably.

The Oath of Allegiance

Like the opening of court, the procedure of oath taking should be divorced from routine and made impressive. The oath of allegiance to the United States is profoundly significant and soul searching and should be solemnly and impressively administered. Generally the clerk³⁵ of court administers the oath. Sometimes he possesses a good voice, which may make his performance more effective than that of a judge who is not so well equipped vocally. However, some judges believe that the oath of allegiance should be administered by the judge³⁶ himself. They consider it not only a duty but a privilege to administer the oath and make of it a ceremony of dignity with which to impress and honor the new

³⁴ U. S. Code, Title 8, Sec. 733 (Id.).

³⁵ W. CALVIN CHESNUT, Judge, United States District Court, District of Maryland. "The clerk of our court is a very experienced official and the dignity and impressiveness of his final administration of the oath has been frequently and favorably commented upon."

³⁶ CAMPBELL E. BEAUMONT, Judge, United States District Court, Southern District of California. "The suggestion that I have for general procedure is that the judge himself administer the oath to the candidates for citizenship. The examiners state that they believe a much deeper impression is made by the court's administration of the oath than when it is given by the clerk. I am also of such an opinion and have talked with other judges concerning this matter and they feel likewise."

citizens. Whether the judge, the clerk, or the deputy clerk of the court administers the oath, the important point is that it be done well. When the applicant for citizenship forswears allegiance and fidelity to his native land and pledges his faith and allegiance to his adopted country he is entitled to have the oath that he takes clearly and impressively administered and not incoherently mumbled.³⁷ Deep emotional responses can be aroused by an oath clearly and judiciously given and sincerely and thoughtfully repeated.³⁸

The oath of allegiance is full of meaning for the new citizen. In the first part of the oath he severs the ties that bind him to the land of his birth. He renounces and abjures his allegiance to his native country.³⁹ In the second part of the oath he pledges his faith and sole allegiance to the United States of America. In essence, he begins life anew in the land of his adoption. Strong emotions must stir his soul as he renounces his native land—the home of his childhood, of his parents, and of his friends—and surrenders the flag of his native country for that of another.

³⁷ JAMES J. DAVIS, United States Senator and former Secretary of Labor—originally from Wales. Excerpts from remarks made at the opening of naturalization hearings on August 15, 1941, in the United States District Court, Philadelphia, Pa. “In those days when they had naturalization they brought in one hundred and fifty or two hundred people and the court said. ‘Put up your hand, bub—bub—bub’ and nobody understood it.”

³⁸ JUSTIN MILLER, Associate Justice, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. TO DIGNIFY AND EMPHASIZE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CITIZENSHIP. American Bar Association Journal. November 1942. “One who witnesses a presidential inauguration must be impressed by the profound emotional response which can come from oath taking. The expressive resonant enunciation of a Chief Justice, such as Chas. E. Hughes, and the full voice response of a President, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt, for example, can give life and meaning to words which if mouthed by a tired deputy clerk are as unconvincing as a dead rabbit. If it is convincingly done by a clerk who can put his heart into it and if the new citizens—trained in advance by representatives of some patriotic organization—can repeat the oath convincingly in full, this alone will go far toward giving the ceremony a dignified and impressive character.”

³⁹ PETER MARSHALL, D. D. The New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C. “It is an impressive moment when the immigrant renounces forever his allegiance to the government of the land that gave him birth. He takes the oath of naturalization with misty eyes and a lump in his throat—and that is as it should be. The allegiance he renounces is, of course, his political allegiance. There is a sense in which he has and will continue to have a divided allegiance, but that lies in the realm of the cultural and the spiritual. There is no treason in the love he bears for homeland, the songs he learned from his mother, and the faith of his fathers.”

The simple words conveying citizenship take on a deeper meaning today than ever before. Many take this oath with tears of gratitude.⁴⁰ They are joining the great family of citizens enjoying the cherished principles of freedom. They are pledging themselves to a great ideal,⁴¹ and are purposing to do their bit to sustain and uphold that ideal. They are becoming a part of this nation just as the nation becomes a part of them. They are coming into a heritage; they are being granted a privilege; they are being offered an opportunity.

Address to New Citizens

Like the oath of allegiance, the address to the new citizens should be impressive and inspirational, a fitting climax to the ceremonial of induction.

Long before the passage by Congress of the joint resolution directing that: "Either at the time of the rendition of the decree of naturalization, or at such other time as the judge may fix, the judge or someone designated by him shall address the newly naturalized citizens upon the form and genius of our government and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship," judges, or others designated by them, delivered these addresses in many Federal and State courts. In fact it was the beneficial results of these addresses that partly inspired the inclusion of the clause in the resolution designed to make the address a part of the procedure in every naturalization court. When and where the address should be delivered, by whom, and the type of address, was properly left by Congress to the judge of the court.

Generally, addresses are delivered in the courtroom, although occasionally, they are delivered sometime later in a ceremony

⁴⁰ J. F. T. O'CONNOR, Judge, United States District Court, Los Angeles, Calif., May 7, 1941. Excerpt from an address on the occasion of "I am an American Day." "In my court I have watched the expressions on the faces of hundreds as they have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States—a tear streaked down the faces of men who would be firm in the face of death—a prayer from the lips of women whose memories recall less fortunate relatives or friends. They have suffered—they know what it means to say: 'I am an American.'"

⁴¹ WOODROW WILSON. Excerpt from speech delivered in Philadelphia, Pa., May 10, 1915. "You have taken the oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race."

honoring new citizens. The judge,⁴² or a guest, or both, deliver an address.

Decision as to who should deliver the address was wisely left to the discretion of the individual judge. The judge is, and rightly should be, the one who is responsible for induction into citizenship. He is familiar with local conditions and practices and should be able to decide whether or not it is desirable that an outstanding citizen from a legal, educational, patriotic, religious, or other organization make the address to the naturalization class.

The practice of having an outside speaker is followed by many judges with apparent success. In some instances, perhaps, an outside speaker, such as a notable foreign-born⁴³ citizen of the United States, can more effectively convey the significance of that citizenship. In other instances, undoubtedly the better medium for such expression is the judge himself.

Sometimes the address is delivered before the taking of the oath and sometimes afterwards. Quite frequently the oath itself forms the basis⁴⁴ for the address. Some judges consider this an excellent time to explain the meaning of the oath and to dissipate any erroneous ideas concerning it. The opportunity is provided to give the new citizens a clearer conception of what is required in the renunciation of allegiance to their native countries and of what is included in the assumption of a new loyalty to the United States. Generally, whether inspired by the oath or not, the address centers around the theme of the implication of citizenship, emphasizing alike the duties and privileges, the obligations and rights⁴⁵ of our

⁴² JOHN CASKIE COLLET, Judge, United States District Court, Western and Eastern Districts of Missouri. "I have usually supplemented these addresses with such remarks as appeared most appropriate in view of the tenor of the preceding address."

⁴³ EVAN A. EVANS, Judge, Seventh Circuit, United States Court of Appeals, believes it might be desirable "to secure the service of aliens who had become citizens and who were notable successes in life to speak to the new citizens."

⁴⁴ LEON R. YANKWICH, Judge, United States District Court, Southern District of California. "My usual approach is to take the oath which is about to be administered and explain its meaning, emphasizing the difference between the ideals of the United States and those now prevailing in some of the countries from which some of the applicants have come."

⁴⁵ WALTER C. LINDLEY, Judge, United States District Court, Eastern District of Illinois. "It seems to me that I must try to instill into their minds the fixed conviction that there is no such thing as a right and an advantage without a corresponding obligation."

American democracy. The address should be short, inspirational, and expressed in simple English.

A national crisis always brings resurgence of faith in the American way of life. In dark hours of our civilization, especially in times of war when the loyalty of all is essential to victory, more and more emphasis is given to the fact that all creeds and all races have made America.⁴⁶ In order to create in the newly naturalized citizens a feeling of belonging to America, and a willingness to do their part for her, Judges have pointed out contributions to the American way of life by such foreign-born Americans as:

JACOB RIIS from Denmark, whom President Theodore Roosevelt once characterized as the most useful American of his day and the nearest to the ideal of an American citizen. President Roosevelt called him the "brother to all men, especially the unfortunate."

MICHAEL ANAGNOS from Greece, who was once referred to by a Boston paper as "the man who taught the Greeks to learn and adopt everything that is good in American character; the man who did good for the sake of good; the man who expected every Greek to do his duty toward his adopted country." His fame belonged to the United States, but his services extended to all humanity.

JAMES JEROME HILL from Canada, who, as "the empire builder," made thousands of men and women happier because of his clear vision and faith in the future of the great Northwest.

MICHAEL PUPIN from Jugoslavia, the shepherd boy, who became one of America's greatest teachers and scientists. Among his inventions is the "tuning in" mechanism that controls every radio.

SAMUEL GOMPERS from England, through whose efforts the dignity and worth of labor became recognized.

Father EDWARD FLANAGAN from Ireland, who strengthened the fight against juvenile delinquency with the philosophy "there is no such thing as a bad boy," and who is recognized as an inspirational leader working in behalf of American youth.

JOSEPH PULITZER from Hungary, who founded the widely known newspaper, *The New York World*; who gave \$1,000,000 to Columbia University

⁴⁶ DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE. AMERICA. National Home Library Foundation. Washington, D. C. 1941. "We Americans are natives of all the world, gathered here under one flag in the name of liberty. There is no race or creed or culture that has a monopoly of Americanism—except the human race, the creed of friendship and good will, and the culture of free speech and free opportunity."

for the first school of Journalism in America, and who raised funds to bring the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty to America and place it at the entrance to New York Harbor.

CARL SCHURZ from Germany, who was the loyal friend of Abraham Lincoln and one of his first supporters for the presidency. No citizen loved, or understood, his country better. America's finest concept of patriotism may be found in his immortal words: "My country right or wrong; if right to be kept right, if wrong to be set right."

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL from Scotland, who gave to the world one of the greatest inventions of the age, the telephone. Bell's sturdy character and scientific achievements made him one of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

ANGELO PATRI from Italy, who, in his teaching, placed emphasis upon the child and helped the parent to understand the child; out of this grew the first Parent-Teachers Association in America—a historic milestone in the educational field.

Such as these have brought their gifts to America! Throughout our history, certain immigrants have achieved greatness in various fields of activity, but these alone could never have made America great. Year after year, foreign-born Americans, countless thousands from the great common people, have played simpler, though not less essential, roles in making America great. It is fitting, therefore, that the addresses stress, as they have frequently done, the worth and importance of every individual citizen—particularly of the ordinary man.

More and more the addresses given at induction ceremonies include emphasis upon the sacredness of human personality^{47, 48} and upon the inherent, inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which have their roots in the Divine⁴⁹—not

⁴⁷ ROBERT N. WILKIN, Judge, United States District Court, Northern District of Ohio. "Here men of all races, colors and creeds have enjoyed freedom of trade, freedom of conscience, freedom of expression and a common wealth and level of life never before attained."

⁴⁸ JOHN C. KNOX, Senior Judge, United States District Court, Southern District of New York. "We have something worth defending in our country. It is not the land, not the buildings and factories—not the material things. We have something more precious—our dignity as human beings, our right as citizens to decide things for ourselves and our precious heritage as Americans."

⁴⁹ Father JAMES HOWARD, St. Michael's Church, Pensacola, Fla. "That is why when this glorious country began, our founding fathers were most anxious to find some

to be taken away by any human power. Recognition should be given to the fact that our country is the only nation on earth that includes the right to the pursuit of human happiness in its basic principles.

The sacred rights of American democracy were established by the first immigrants to America and were strengthened by the millions who followed them. These rights will continue to be upheld, as they have been in the past, only as long as they are recognized, not merely as privileges to be enjoyed, but as a trust to be maintained and defended.⁵⁰

Maintenance and defense of this trust challenges every American citizen to make a positive, and continuing contribution to America.^{51 52} Lip loyalty is not sufficient. Repeating the American Creed, or pledging allegiance to the flag, or singing songs about our country become empty forms unless followed by activities that

foundation for human liberties, some guarantees of human personality which would escape the clutching, grasping hand of tyranny, dictator and abuse.

"The Fathers looked first for their model of liberty to England, whose theories and rights were rooted in Parliament and rejected it because 'if Parliament can give rights and liberties then Parliament could take them away.' The fathers next looked to France where it was believed the rights of man were rooted in 'the will of the majority,' and rejected this theory because if the gifts of man are the gifts of the majority, then the majority can take away 'the rights of the minority.'

"Ultimately the founding fathers, rejecting all of the theories, decided the rights of men were rooted not in the state, parliament, dictator or any human powers but in Almighty God."

⁵⁰ RAY B. LYON, Judge, superior court, San Luis Obispo, Calif. "Freedom will survive if men and women will continue to defend it. It is not enough that one shall merely enjoy the privileges of democracy, one must accept the responsibilities of citizenship. Induction brings to us a reminder of those responsibilities and finds each of us ready to accept them gladly, since in our acceptance lies the security of our democratic freedom."

⁵¹ "Each generation of free men

Its share of liberty

Must win again and yet again

That men may still be free."

1942 New Year's Calendar, *The Evening Star, Washington, D. C.*

⁵² THOMAS MANN. *The Coming Victory of Democracy*. Alfred A. Knopf. New York. 1938. "No, America needs no instruction in the things that concern democracy. But instruction is one thing—and another is memory, reflection, reexamination, the recall to consciousness of a spiritual and moral possession of which it would be dangerous to feel too secure and too confident. No worthwhile possession can be neglected. Even physical things die off, disappear, are lost, if they are not cared for, if they do not feel the eye and hand of the owner and are lost to sight because their possession is taken for granted. Throughout the world it has become precarious to take democracy for granted—even in America."

add to the individual and total happiness of our people. Celebration of national holidays^{53 54} including Citizenship Day, becomes a farce unless in spirit, every day is a "good citizen" day.

Each citizen must do his part to make democracy work for all, instead of expecting it to work for him alone. The Golden Rule must prevail, and hate, with all of its kindred evils, must be eliminated from the heart. Hate, prejudice, and bigotry, whether religious or racial, tear down and destroy and can have no place in our democracy.

The address might well point out that above all the new citizens must not be content with the progress already made. Much yet⁵⁵ remains to be done to achieve the ideals set by those who have gone before. Many inadequacies still exist in our American life—inadequacies that can be removed in a legal and orderly way. Because the flag⁵⁶ does not fly over a perfect country, sovereign citizens, genuine and faithful in purpose, must be ever mindful of

⁵³ HANS KINDLER. 1940. "Many people all over the world are losing—almost overnight the rights and ideals that have taken perhaps hundreds of years to win. We in America cannot protect democracy by remembering it on just a few national holidays and taking it for granted the other 360 days a year."

⁵⁴ United States Office of Education. *LET FREEDOM RING*. Bulletin No. 32, p. 179. "Struggle for Freedom never ends! Ground that is lost must be regained! Each generation must re-win its rights! Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty! Let us strive on, to the end that our children's children may always know the glorious fulfillment of that noblest cry known to men—Let Freedom Ring!"

⁵⁵ PETER MARSHALL, D. D. The New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C. "Our foster mother is not perfect. There is a wisdom that comes only with age, and a mellowness that only time can bring. Here and there in her public life we see selfishness and greed of men and women who are not true to the American heritage. But we who have taken that solemn oath of naturalization have the privilege of helping our foster mother to become as great as she is strong, and as good as she is great. We, her new citizens, her adopted children, can make her laws respected by keeping them ourselves. We have a part in making her government good by exercising the duty and the privilege of the ballot box. We can show our gratitude for all that America means to us by the quality of our citizenship. A good man or a good woman will be a good American, and the true American will be good."

⁵⁶ SELDEN CARLYLE ADAMS. *THE UPLIFT*. Concord, N. C. 1942. "With all that glorious history there are moments when the breezes cease to blow and I must droop in shame at the knowledge that in the great land I represent the bodies and spirits of little children are being broken in mines, factories, and mills; that corruption has found its way even into the municipal halls of my great cities; that in the hearts of some citizens sheltered by me there abides a spirit of hate for fellow men; that I have not been permitted to play a part of large usefulness in the work of benefiting all mankind, regardless of nation, creed, or color."

their trust to hand on to the next generation ⁵⁷ a greater and better America than they themselves found.

Certificates of Citizenship and Mementos of the Occasion

Several judges make the presentation of certificates of citizenship a part of the regular ceremonial. These judges believe that the awarding of certificates at this time carries much greater significance than the handing out of them by the clerk at a later date. Such presentation requires the cooperation of court officials, representatives of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and others. Photographs and signatures must be appended to the certificates and details completed just prior to the induction ceremony.

Mementos, such as small American flags, copies of the Constitution,⁵⁸ the Declaration of Independence, or the Bill of Rights, or of the American's Creed, furnish a concrete symbol of the emotions experienced at the time of the assumption of citizenship. An attractive program, with the American flag decorating the front page and the names of the new citizens printed within, may be given to each one as a "remembrance ⁵⁹ of the occasion of his induction into citizenship." In this connection, it should be pointed out that the souvenir need not be expensive, but it should be of sufficiently good quality that the new citizen will cherish it as a keepsake. A beautiful little flag, in keeping with the intrinsic worth of citizenship, makes a desired memento. Many place their first flag in the Bible or other sacred place, and take delight in showing it to visitors or friends. Therefore, care should be exercised that the flag is not of poor or cheap material.

⁵⁷ RAYMOND PITCAIRN. TODAY WE ARE AMERICANS ALL. Copyright 1942. "For today the Torch of Freedom is in our hands. We must guard it well. On us depends whether it shall keep America the refuge of the oppressed, the hope of the despairing, the land of justice and opportunity for all. On us depends whether its shining splendor shall still serve as a beacon-fire to men and nations everywhere that seek Free Government. With us rests the responsibility to keep aglow that sacred flame on which rely all human hope, all human progress."

⁵⁸ MERRILL E. OTIS, Judge, United States District Court, Western District of Missouri.
*** There has always been a ceremony *** at which flags and copies of the Constitution are distributed to members of the class."

⁵⁹ ALBERT DUTTON MACDADE, Judge, Court of Common Pleas, Thirty-Second Judicial District, Media, Pa. "A very fine printed program is used which is given each new citizen to take home with him as a remembrance of the occasion of his induction into citizenship."

Generally, representatives of patriotic organizations not only provide, but present, the souvenirs to the new citizens; occasionally, the judge himself makes the presentation after proper acknowledgment has been made to the organization that furnished them. When the latter practice is followed it is in the belief that the memento is more highly prized if the judge presents it himself.⁶⁰ Also a friendly handshake and a personal word of congratulation by the judge to each new citizen, as he starts on another stage of the journey of life, is most important.

Pledge of Allegiance

The courts that make the pledge of allegiance a part of the court ceremonial vary as to the place at which they bring it into the program. Some make the pledge an effective part of the ceremony by placing it⁶¹ immediately after the taking of the oath, and by having both the old and the new citizens participate. The foreign born are thus no longer treated separately from the rest of the group—they are Americans now. It is a significant moment when the entire group is caught up in a common feeling, as the new

⁶⁰ VAN BUREN PERRY, Judge, Fifth Judicial Circuit of South Dakota. "Each citizen has been presented with a silk flag, a copy of the flag code, and I have presented each citizen with one of the enclosed pamphlets which I have procured from the American Bar Association, each one being endorsed on the flyleaf in my own handwriting with compliments and congratulations." [The pamphlet referred to entitled, "Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States," is issued by the Committee on American Citizenship of the American Bar Association.]

⁶¹ GROVER M. MOSCOWITZ, Judge, United States District Court, Eastern District of New York. "The entire time that I have been on the bench I have invited students of the various colleges and high schools to witness the ceremonies—there are usually fifty to sixty young women and young men accompanied by one or more teachers and in many instances the professor of the college and the principal of the high school. I usually have the professor select from among the students a young woman or a young man to lead in the pledge of allegiance to the flag. This, of course, takes place after the oath of allegiance. During the oath of allegiance, of course, everyone in the courtroom rises, including the spectators, and after the oath is given, the young man or the young woman selected faces the flag of the United States and leads in the pledge of allegiance in which all new citizens and the spectators in the courtroom join. This I found to be very impressive.

"Yesterday, I sat in the naturalization branch of the court and had the clerk select from among the new citizens one to lead in the pledge of allegiance. It happened to be a woman in this instance. She ascended the bench and while delivering the pledge held her right hand over her heart and faced the flag. I think the new citizens were impressed by the fact that one of their number became a part of the court proceedings."

citizens pledge, and the old renew, their allegiance to democratic ideals.

In some instances, the pledge of allegiance follows the address of the judge or his designated representative.⁶² In some ceremonies, particularly those held in larger auditoriums or stadia, there is the exchange⁶³ of flags of the various countries for the flag of the United States, after which the pledge of allegiance is repeated.

The United States flag has deep and noble significance to those who are already citizens. In some respects it may have even deeper significance to those who are just becoming citizens. To those who are already citizens the flag symbolizes something which they now have; to those who are becoming citizens, it symbolizes something for which they hope but do not yet have—fellowship in the spirit of liberty and the glorious ideals of human freedom. A pledge of allegiance, therefore, to the flag that not only symbolizes but guarantees the sacred right of human freedom and the blessings⁶⁴ of American citizenship may fittingly be given anywhere, in the courtroom or any other place.

⁶² CAMPBELL E. BEAUMONT, Judge, United States District Court, Southern District of California. "At the conclusion of the Judge's remarks he then announces that all present in the courtroom will stand and pledge allegiance to the flag and with others gives the pledge of allegiance.

"It may be of interest to note that a large percentage of our new citizens know the pledge of allegiance. In many instances it appears that more of them know it than do a group of 'old' citizens of like number casually assembled. In any event, those who respond do so with great spirit. The cloak of American citizenship seems to give them an emotional uplift and is quite impressive."

⁶³ FRANK A. PICARD, Judge, United States District Court, Eastern District of Michigan. Excerpt from letter of May 13, 1940, addressed to Mr. Palmer Bevis. In expressing himself as not satisfied with the naturalization ceremony, Judge Picard stated: "We do not believe it is very impressive to the new citizens. We think they ought to come up country by country to begin with. Then there might be even an exchange of flags—that is their flag for that of the United States—symbolizing the renunciation of the old and the acceptance of the new. It ought to be a matter of impressing upon the new citizens the meaning of this action."

"Excerpt from the program of the Schenectady Patriotism Week held June 7-14, 1940. "To symbolize these blessings of American citizenship, we display and pledge allegiance to our American flag, and, saluting our flag, let us further take this opportunity to declare for ourselves the same high quality of moral courage that has always been identical with true American citizenship, proud of our heritage, humbly accepting our present privileges under that flag and reconstruct ourselves for the future in the spirit of sincere Patriotism."

Closing of Court

Most courts close in the usual manner. In some courts, however, the pledge of allegiance is followed by the national anthem or "America," after which the retirement of colors takes place. All stand and give proper homage to the flag. This procedure produces an inspirational and appropriate atmosphere for the solemn closing of the court.

Community Participation

THE JOINT RESOLUTION, as stated earlier (p. 5), provides for participation of civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations in a continuous effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship. This naturally leads to the question, "What kind of civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations are contemplated in the joint resolution?"

Organizations, groups, and individuals who have participated in induction ceremonies in the past, even before the action taken by Congress, and are still participating, include: Officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the American Legion, the American Legion Auxiliary, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Elks, Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, and Civitan Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, labor organizations, social agencies, schools, the Bench and Bar, and many others. It may be safely said, therefore, that many courts construe the resolution to include any, or all, of those mentioned as possible participants⁶⁵ in the "effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship."

Needless to say, the same organization, or organizations, should not be drawn upon for every occasion. Many of those mentioned are not found in every community. Even if all were located in

⁶⁵ ALBERT M. SAMES, Judge, United States District Court, District of Arizona. "After the administration of the oath to petitioners approved for admission to citizenship exercises were held in the courtroom consisting of remarks by the presiding judge, addresses by one or more members of the local bar and of the faculty of the University Law School and presentation of flags and patriotic literature by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Legion Auxiliary to the newly made citizens. Interest in the class and the program was stimulated by the presence of representatives of the local schools who were employed to conduct classes in citizenship for petitioners.

* * * The naturalization officers in the district have conferred with the judge and have prepared the program for the ceremonial with the cooperation of a number of local and civic fraternal bodies. Outstanding citizens and public speakers have taken part in these various exercises. * * * It occurs to me that the earlier practice of the court in induction proceedings as indicated above was perhaps more impressive and beneficial for the petitioners than the subsequent larger annual exercises held for the general public in other forums. My reaction to the former was that the program at that time in the court served also to impress the community that the latter is a local as well as a Federal tribunal."

any one community, there would be no necessity or expectation that all would participate upon all⁶⁶ occasions. The extent to which each organization is utilized depends upon the type of ceremony planned and what it can sincerely and constructively contribute toward carrying the plan out. The judge, with his sense of propriety and dignity as well as his understanding of local situations, is in a position to exercise discrimination in deciding what organizations and which individuals can best help in making an induction ceremony effective.

The need for careful selection of the organizations and individuals who should participate gives force to the reasoning that the judge himself should usually be chairman⁶⁷ of the committee to plan the ceremonial and that he should perhaps also be the master of ceremonies. An opportunity would thus be afforded for eliminating both the occasional ambitious and self-seeking individual and the petty rivalries among some organizations, which tend to disrupt and destroy the spirit of the occasion. Use should be made only of those organizations or individuals who are actively interested in citizenship induction.

If the judge is confident, however, of his selection of properly qualified people and is sure that no unwise or inappropriate action will be taken by those selected, then he may delegate responsibility

⁶⁶ HARRY E. WATKINS, Judge, United States District Court, Northern and Southern Districts of West Virginia. “* * * It seems well to rotate the organizations participating. * * * This stimulates interest among the various organizations and the competition produces the very best from each organization.”

⁶⁷ DAN PYLE, Judge, St. Joseph's Circuit Court, South Bend, Ind. “It has been my experience that the success of the induction exercises depends a great deal on the interest the judge himself shows in them. I feel quite sure that if I did not take the leadership they would soon cease to be of interest, for fraternal orders, patriotic bodies, and civic organizations, after one or two programs have been given, lose their interest and the movement becomes more or less a derelict. If a judge gives the leadership, he can change organizations from time to time and select persons who are interested and have sufficient enthusiasm to put the program over in an interesting and impressive manner.

“If the judge has different organizations and institutions to assist him in giving the programs, he builds up a community movement where hundreds of people are interested in the new citizens and the induction exercises rather than just one or two organizations. In other words, it spreads the idea and at the same time brings home to the old citizens as well as the new the real meaning of America, its opportunities, its government, and our freedoms.”

for the ceremonial. This has been done in many courts with signal success.

A more or less permanent advisory⁶⁸ committee composed of representatives of the Bench and Bar, civil and educational authorities, and representatives of patriotic or other organizations should be appointed to insure an effective ceremonial at each induction and to integrate properly the courtroom ceremony into the long-time, larger citizenship program that precedes and follows induction. If the judge himself cannot accept the chairmanship, he should see that a person of standing in the community is appointed to head this important committee, a person who can command the respect of every member of the committee, one who understands the significance of ceremonies and knows how to obtain cooperation in putting on a fitting ceremonial. Well-planned citizenship programs, in which there is an active participation by representatives of the community, not only during the court ceremony but also before and after, can go far toward blending the new citizen into the community and making him a part of America.

⁶⁸ Following is the committee that is responsible for naturalization programs in the Common Pleas Court, Delaware County, Media, Pa. *Sponsors:* Hon. Albert Dutton MacDade, president-judge of Delaware County; Hon. Harold I. Ervin, associate judge; Hon. Henry G. Sweeney, associate judge; Hon. John E. McDonough, president-judge of the Orphans' Court of Delaware County; Delaware County Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution; Delaware County Committee, American Legion; Delaware County Council, American Legion Auxiliary; Chester-Delaware County Council, Veterans of Foreign Wars; Chester Post 134, Jewish War Veterans; Sons of American Legion; Lynch Camp, Spanish War Veterans; Chester Teachers Association; and Horace W. Daft, general chairman.

* * * I can express with very limited adequacy the passionate devotion to this land that possesses millions of our people, born, like myself, under other skies, for the privilege that this country has bestowed in allowing them to partake of its fellowship.

* * * The times in which we live are bringing to American life doers of great deeds and thinkers of great thoughts, and men and women undistinguished except as the sturdy foundation of every good society.

We should welcome them * * *. For they come not merely because persecution drives them; they come because the American tradition beckons them.

FELIX FRANKFURTER,
*Associate Justice of the Supreme Court
of the United States of America.*

Source Material

Statements by

Presidents of United States

GEORGE WASHINGTON, First President of the United States

Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Third President of the United States

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Sixteenth President of the United States

Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Twenty-fifth President of the United States

There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says that he is an American, but something else also, is not an American at all.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, Twenty-sixth President of the United States

To obey the law is to support democracy. If every man thinks every law must suit him in order that he shall obey it, he does not support democracy but destroys it. The basis of good government lies in the fact that the people are willing to obey the law as they have determined it to be.

WOODROW WILSON, Twenty-seventh President of the United States

I believe in democracy because it releases the energies of every human being.

CALVIN COOLIDGE, Twenty-ninth President of the United States

Whether one traces his Americanism back three centuries to the Mayflower or three years to the steerage is not half so important as whether his Americanism of today is real and genuine.

HERBERT HOOVER, Thirtieth President of the United States

Who may define liberty? It is far more than independence of a nation. It is not a catalog of political "rights." Liberty is a thing of the spirit—to be free to worship, to think, to hold opinions, and to speak without fear—free to challenge wrong and oppression with surety of justice. Liberty conceives that the mind and spirit of men can be free only if the individual is free to choose his own calling, to develop his talents, to win and to keep a home sacred from intrusion, to rear children in ordered security. It holds he must be free to earn, spend, to save, to accumulate property that may give protection in old age and to loved ones.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Thirty-first President of the United States

Those priceless rights, guaranteed under the Constitution, have been the source of our happiness from our very beginnings as a nation. We have been accustomed to take them as a matter of course. Now, however, when we see other nations challenging those liberties, it behooves us to exercise that eternal vigilance which now, as always, is the price of liberty. No matter what comes we must preserve our national birthright; liberty of conscience and of education, of the press and of free assembly, and equal justice to all under the law.

As a free people we must defend our dearly won heritage of freedom against all assaults.

Statements by

Chief Justices of United States

JOHN JAY,¹ First Chief Justice of the United States

This country and this people seem to have been made for each other, and it appears as if it was the design of Providence, that an inheritance so proper and convenient for a band of brethren, united to each other by the strongest ties, should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous, and alien sovereignties.

Similar sentiments have hitherto prevailed among all orders and denominations of men among us. To all general purposes we have uniformly been one people; each individual citizen everywhere enjoying the same national rights, privileges, and protection.

JOHN MARSHALL,² Fourth Chief Justice of the United States

When the government is drawn from the people and depends on the people for its continuance, oppressive measures will not be attempted, as they will certainly draw on their authors the resentment of those on whom they depend. On this government, thus depending on ourselves for its existence, I will rest my safety.

ROGER BROOKE TANEY,³ Fifth Chief Justice of the United States

The object and end of all government is to promote the happiness and prosperity of the community by which it is established; and it can never be assumed that the government intended to diminish its power of accomplishing the end for which it was created.

MORRISON REMICH WAITE,⁴ Seventh Chief Justice of the United States

The equality of the rights of citizens is a principle of republicanism. Every republican government is in duty bound to protect all its citizens in the enjoyment of this principle, if within its power.

MELVILLE WESTON FULLER,⁵ Eighth Chief Justice of the United States

To be an American was to be part and parcel of American ideas, institutions, prosperity, and progress. It was to be like-minded with the patri-

¹ Excerpt from paper appearing in the Federalist on "The New Constitution."

² Excerpt from speech delivered in 1788. JOHN MARSHALL by Allan B. Magruder.

³ MARSHALL AND TANEY. p. 226. By Ben W. Palmer.

⁴ CHIEF JUSTICE WAITE. p. 168. By Bruce R. Trimble.

⁵ Excerpt from address delivered in 1889. 132 U. S. 726.

otic leaders who have served the cause of their native or adopted land, from Washington to Lincoln. It was to be convinced of the virtues of republican government as the bulwark of the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which would ultimately transmute suffering through ignorance into happiness through light.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES,⁶ *Eleventh Chief Justice of the United States*

This flag means more than association and reward. It is the symbol of our national unity, our national endeavor, our national aspiration. It tells you of the struggle for independence, of union preserved, of liberty and union one and inseparable, of the sacrifices of brave men and women to whom the ideals and honor of this nation have been dearer than life.

It means America first; it means an undivided allegiance. It means that you cannot be saved by the valor and devotion of your ancestors; that to each generation comes its patriotic duty; and that upon your willingness to sacrifice and endure as those before you have sacrificed and endured rests the national hope.

It speaks of equal rights; of the inspiration of free institutions exemplified and vindicated; of liberty under law intelligently conceived and impartially administered. There is not a thread in it but scorns self-indulgence, weakness, and rapacity. It is eloquent of our common destiny.

HARLAN FISKE STONE,⁷ *Twelfth Chief Justice of the United States*

I am proud of our legal institutions and have unwavering faith that their future will be even greater than their past. In our legal system lies the assurance of protection of our lives, liberty, property, and happiness, and that of our children and children's children. No more sacred duty rests on the lawyer and layman alike than that of defending, maintaining, and improving it.

⁶ Excerpt from speech made in 1916.

⁷ Excerpt from *LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION*. By Harlan Fiske Stone.

To Dignify and Emphasize the Significance of Citizenship¹

By JUSTIN MILLER

*Associate Justice of The United States Court of Appeals
for the District of Columbia*

War changes the emphasis of our national life, not only as it concerns military service, industrial production and internal revenue, but in its more intimate and intangible phases as well. In no area of our composite national consciousness is this change of emphasis more marked than in our attitudes toward the foreign-born people who have come to live among us. Our traditional, expansive welcome to the oppressed of all nations changes to an acrid challenge of their right and of their capacity to remain here. We err on the side of safety, perhaps, in "rounding up" those who are subversive or disloyal. But, having done so, and the first shock of apprehension having passed, we remember that most of these recent immigrants, like us or our forefathers, came here because they, too, preferred the freedom and opportunity of America to the oppressions and restrictions of old, encrusted civilizations; and that they, perhaps even more than many of us, are passionately devoted to the ideals and principles upon which our civilization is founded.

Naturally, our attention turns to the naturalization process, which provides the bridge from foreign allegiance to American citizenship. Specifically, the thoughts of lawyers and judges turn to the award of naturalization and the induction ceremony, itself, supervision of which was delegated long ago,² by Congress, to the judicial branch of our government. While no one questions the wisdom of that delegation of power, there are some who think that the courts have been too casual in its administration; that on some occasions the induction proceedings have had little dignity; that in some courts practices and routines concerning potential citizens have differed little from routines followed in dealing with potential criminals.

That applicants for citizenship have often felt disappointment, not to say disillusionment, concerning naturalization induction proceedings, there can be no doubt. A recent example is found in the autobiography of Eugene de Savitsch, the famous brain surgeon, published by Simon and Schuster in 1940, under the title, *In Search of Complications*. After graphi-

¹ Reprinted from American Bar Association Journal. November 1942.

² Act of March 26, 1790, 1 Stat. 103.

cally reproducing the "acrobatic explanations" of the Clerk, concerning the preliminaries and procedures of the induction ceremony, and describing the paper-bound book which served "a twofold purpose as a training course in the basic concepts of the American Constitution and as an advertising medium for light literature dealing with such widely diversified subjects as new tricks for an old dog and hints for overcoming sexual shyness," the author concludes as follows: "My interrogator made it very easy. He was satisfied that I knew the name of the father of my new country and of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that I was aware that Alaska no longer belonged to Russia, and that in case of war I would not be a slacker. Then in groups arranged according to nationality, all applicants repeated the oath of allegiance before *a bored and unresponsive judge, who hurried us away with a wave of the hand.* Ten dollars was collected from each of us and with presentation of the receipt we were told that we had acquired a new country. *I think most of us were disappointed that it had been such a routine affair devoid of any conscious effort to make us feel our future privileges or responsibilities.*" [Italics supplied.]

It must be said in defense of our judges, however, that on those occasions when they may have seemed bored, or casual, or to have lapsed into routine, the inducing cause was pressure of harassing calendars, together with steadily increasing numbers of applicants for citizenship,³ rather than lack of appreciation of the importance of the event. While lawyers and judges live largely on an intellectual level, they are deeply conscious of the emotional tides which sway the lives of most people most of the time, and of the possibilities for influencing, permanently, the lives and actions of new citizens, by a dignified procedure occurring at a time which should be one of great emotional exaltation. The same reasons which have persuaded university authorities to maintain, in full flower, the medieval ceremonials of commencement time may, perhaps, be equally applicable to the commencement of American citizenship. All who are familiar with the emotional reactions which follow church and even lodge or fraternity rituals will understand the inherent possibilities.

In any event, all will agree that the ceremonial of naturalization should constitute a solemn bestowal of the privileges of citizenship and an understanding acceptance of its responsibilities; that in the naturalization courtroom the alien should, actually and personally, sever the ties that have bound him to the land of his birth and begin his new life as a citizen in

³ The situation has been succinctly described by Judge Evan A. Evans, as follows: "Many years ago when each applicant for citizenship was heard separately and the two witnesses were produced and sworn in open court and examined, I sat not infrequently in the District Court to help ease the burden which the many pending applications created. I have sat three days hearing some 600 applications. Since that time the citizenship applications are heard en masse, and there is nothing in the procedure to impress the applicant with the solemnity and dignity which is required."

the land of his adoption; that the courtroom scene, therefore, should make a lasting impression upon him, then and there establishing—if it has not been established already—the emotional basis of his loyalty. And all will agree that these considerations are vitally important in a time of national peril, when the loyalty of all is essential to victory.

Impelled, no doubt, by these considerations, Congress has recently amplified the specifications of its delegation of power to the courts in a joint resolution⁴ which reads in part as follows: "Either at the time of the rendition of the decree of naturalization or at such other time as the judge may fix, the judge or someone designated by him shall address the newly naturalized citizens upon the form and genius of our Government and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship; it being the intent and purpose of this section to enlist the aid of the judiciary, in cooperation with civil and educational authorities, and patriotic organizations in a continuous effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship."

The first clause of the quoted language is explicit and has been generally and literally followed. In fact, the judges have, in many federal courts, long anticipated the congressional suggestion. But the second clause requires interpretation in its application. Just what is the aid expected of the judiciary; how are they to cooperate with civil authorities, educational authorities, and patriotic organizations; and what is meant by a *continuous effort* to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship? Again, which civil authorities, which educational authorities, and what sort of patriotic organizations are contemplated by the resolution?

Quite properly, it would seem, the heads of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the Department of Justice, and the United States Office of Education in the Federal Security Agency, assumed congressional intent to include them in its resolution. Of course, representatives of the former service have worked for many years with the judges in furthering the purpose set out in the resolution. And representatives of the latter agency have for many years encouraged the development of educational resources which would make available to aliens, opportunity to prepare for naturalization and citizenship. Soon after our entry into the war, representatives of these two agencies initiated a proposal for cooperation as contemplated by the joint resolution and sought the guidance of the courts in putting the proposal into operation. They requested the writer to act in an intermediary capacity in their behalf. He, in turn asked the advice of Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, who responded cordially⁵ and approved action along

⁴ House Joint Resolution No. 437, Public Resolution No. 67 (1940) 76th Cong. 3d Sess., 54 Stat. 178, 8 U. S. C. Sec. 727a.

⁵ Excerpt from a letter written by the Chief Justice under date of June 2, 1942: "I very heartily agree that anything that can be done to emphasize the dignity and solemnity of the procedure for naturalizing our new citizens should be done, and I am quite sure that the Conference of Senior Circuit Judges would welcome an opportunity

the following lines: (1) Presentation to the Conference of Senior Circuit Judges, for its adoption, of a resolution which shall call attention to the congressional joint resolution and request all federal judges to do whatever they can to carry out its purpose; (2) consideration of the subject by each Judicial Circuit Conference; (3) designation, by the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, of a member of his staff to serve as a depositary of information upon the subject and an answerer of questions concerning it; (4) collection of information, from District Judges, concerning methods of cooperation and procedure ceremonies which they have used.

During the intervening weeks a generous sampling has been made of the procedures and practices now being used by various federal judges, several of whom had, also, as judges of state courts, previously acted in naturalization proceedings. Generally speaking, the judges were strongly in favor of the several suggestions approved by Chief Justice Stone. In the succeeding paragraphs an effort is made to summarize the information and generalize the advice which has been received. Grateful recognition is due to district judges and circuit judges alike, for their friendly cooperation. Those who read farther will be impressed by the serious effort which is being made to achieve the purpose of the joint resolution and by the imagination and resourcefulness which has been displayed in doing so.

In view of judicial familiarity with standardized procedures—and the fact that Congress has on several occasions, recently, requested the judges to assume rule-making functions—it was thought proper, in the letter which was used for the present inquiry, to ask the judges to what extent the procedure of the induction ceremony should be made uniform. Generally, the replies advised against attempts at uniformity, except as concerns the general minimum specifications of the joint resolution.⁶ In fact, that legislative declaration, itself, indicates congressional intent that there shall be considerable freedom in working out procedures adapted to the community, to the occasion, and, perhaps, even to the group which is being inducted.⁷ As a matter of convenience, it would seem wise that a more or less uniform order of events should be established. This would save the

to do something to further so worthy a cause. I answer specifically in the affirmative all the questions which you ask in your letter. I am sending it to Mr. Chandler, indicating to him that we might perhaps include your suggestions in the agenda for our next Conference."

⁶ For example, Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, Jr. says: ". . . allowing full play for local differentiations, a general arrangement having uniform characteristics of dignity and appropriateness could be worked out."

⁷ Judge Paul J. McCormick says, concerning this point: ". . . the matter should not become grooved but . . . the individual method and treatment of the judge presiding should be preserved. This is especially true on account of the district judges being more conversant with what would be particularly helpful in their own areas than by having material come from outside."

court and its officers a great deal of detailed planning for each occasion. Courts are accustomed to work in this manner, with certain duties to be performed by judge, clerk, marshal, attorneys, witnesses and jurors. In addition, to the extent that local uniformity could be secured—beyond the general concurrence in major phases of the ceremonial—much could be done to insure that continuous effort to dignify and emphasize the significance of citizenship, for which we hope, in peace time as well as in time of war.

The specification, in the resolution, of "civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations," obviously does not require the participation of all such agencies on all occasions. Indeed, it would be impossible to draw the line between ambitious volunteers, sincere or self-seeking; and if large scale participation were permitted it would quickly become impossibly burdensome to all concerned. We must conclude, therefore, that the judge should be, in fact, master of the ceremonies in the courtroom. To the extent that nonjudicial participants are permitted they should be designated by the judge with great care, not only because of their willingness but of their capacity to contribute, in accordance with the purpose and spirit of the occasion. It would seem inappropriate and unwise to insist upon participation by persons and agencies who would disrupt rather than aid the courtroom ceremonial. If properly qualified persons are not available, perhaps the judge should take the lead in developing community interest and in educating responsible people for effective participation. If Congress expected such work to be done by the judges it should give serious consideration to the number of judges which it has provided for all purposes.

In this connection it must be remembered that there is much important work to be done both before and after induction into citizenship.⁸ Assuming that the naturalization ceremony is, or may become, the climax of the drama, nevertheless, nonjudicial officers and agencies have made and will continue to make large contributions to citizenship during the years which follow the filing of the "first papers" as well as during the years which follow naturalization. The important consideration which Congress had in mind was that all these activities should be tied up effectively into the continuing effort contemplated by the joint resolution. To this end community programs should be planned to precede and follow the induction ceremony itself. For such work the nonjudicial participants are no doubt the better qualified; but by acting in close cooperation with the judge, the courtroom ceremonial can be advantageously integrated into the long-time, larger program. Perhaps the judge could be persuaded to appoint, for such purposes, a more or less permanent advisory committee, composed of civil and educational authorities and representatives of patriotic organizations. Perhaps the judge might be willing to act as chairman of the com-

⁸ Judge Phillip Forman: "No amount of ceremonial at the time that citizenship is finally presented can erase from the mind of the petitioner brusque and harsh treatment received during the course of the prosecution of his application."

mittee; and perhaps a much larger participation by bar associations could be thus secured.

So far as concerns the courtroom ceremonial itself, minimum compliance with the spirit of the joint resolution would seem to require at least: (1) the rendition of the decree of naturalization; (2) the administering of the oath; (3) the address by the judge or his designated alternate; (4) some participation by civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations. Perhaps the fourth requirement would be satisfied by the customary participation of the naturalization examiner. One or two judges suggested as much and indicated that in their opinion it would be unwise to depart from a strictly judicial procedure. Most of them, however, have invited the participation of other officers and organizations and, while preserving the formality and dignity of the judicial proceeding, have elaborated it in accordance with the spirit of the occasion.⁹ A number of the judges spoke of measures which they had taken to secure participation by persons and organizations who should be interested participants.¹⁰ There is considerable difference of opinion among the judges as to the wisdom of permitting others than the judge to address the new citizens.¹¹ Certainly a judge

⁹ Judge Merrill E. Otis: ". . . during the eighteen years of my service naturalization proceedings have always been conducted in a formal and dignified manner. There has always been an address by the judge or by some invited and distinguished guest. There has always been a ceremony (usually conducted by the Daughters of the American Revolution) at which flags and copies of the Constitution are distributed to members of the class. There has been also a ceremony of the oath of allegiance to the flag. Occasionally a musical number has been added."

¹⁰ Judge Harry E. Watkins: "At other naturalization proceedings, I have *invited and insisted on the bar association attending in a body*, and have had the Boy Scouts attend in uniform . . . It seems well to rotate the organizations participating and taking an active part in the ceremony. For example, in the enclosed program, you will note the American Legion presented the souvenirs and the State President delivered the principal address. It is my plan to have the Daughters of the American Revolution perform similar duties at the next naturalization proceedings. This stimulates interest among the various organizations, and the competition produces the very best from each organization." [Italics supplied.]

¹¹ Thus, Judge William C. Coleman says: "However, I feel that only the presiding judge and not 'some one designated by him' should address the new citizens, as provided in the Joint Resolution. Also, if the phrase 'in cooperation with civil and educational authorities and patriotic organizations' contained in the last part of the Resolution implies that there shall be any departure during the naturalization session, from a strictly judicial procedure, I am opposed to such departure. In short, I think that it is highly desirable that the dignity of the court as a court be preserved, and that the court itself should be the exclusive medium for emphasizing to the new citizens the significance of American citizenship. I say this because while I have no disposition to underestimate the valuable work which civil, educational, and patriotic agencies are constantly doing in connection with the preparation of the alien for citizenship, experience over fifteen years on the Bench indicates that unless the courtroom procedure during naturalization is restricted as above stated, it is very difficult to draw the line as to what should or should not be added to what the court itself may do."

should ponder seriously his own obligations before delegating the performance of his duty. In some instances other district court, or circuit court, judges have been invited to perform this particular function. But, a good percentage of the judges have invited "prominent persons," "outstanding citizens," the naturalization examiner, "nonpolitical public personages, such as educators,"¹² members of the local bar and of university law school faculties, representatives of the American Legion and of other patriotic as well as religious organizations, to deliver such addresses.¹³ Such inadequacies as may appear in the addresses of invited speakers may be compensated for by the judge in a supplementary address.¹⁴ A few of the judges have included in the ceremony a response by some member of the applicant group or by some well-known naturalized citizen.

Some of the more routine phases of courtroom ritual may be made of special significance in naturalization proceedings if carefully planned in advance. Thus, several judges recommended that the oath of allegiance be administered by the judge himself, instead of by the clerk or his deputy. One who witnesses a presidential inauguration must be impressed by the profound emotional response which can come from oath-taking. The expressive, resonant enunciation of a Chief Justice, such as Charles E. Hughes, and the full-voiced response of a President, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt, for example, give life and meaning to words which, if mouthed by a tired deputy clerk, are as unconvincing as a dead rabbit. If it is convincingly done by a clerk who can put his heart into it,¹⁵ and if the new citizens—trained in advance by representatives of some patriotic organization—can repeat the oath, convincingly, in full, this alone will go far toward giving the ceremony a dignified and impressive character.¹⁶

Closely related to the procedure of oath-taking is that of opening the court. A number of the complaints against ineffective naturalization proceedings have arisen from the practice of wedging them in between arraign-

¹² Judge Phillip Forman: "From time to time I introduce nonpolitical public personages, such as educators, etc., to substitute addresses for mine or to supplement them. Since the procedure is such a frequent one it is difficult to obtain outstanding speakers at all of them *but effort is continuously made to interest appropriate persons in the event.*" [Italics supplied.]

¹³ Judge Bascom S. Deaver: "On our last Naturalization Day in Macon the American Legion sponsored a program, which was broadcast by a local radio station. One feature of the ceremony was an address by an army officer from Camp Wheeler."

¹⁴ Judge Caskie Collet: "I have usually supplemented these addresses with such remarks as appeared most appropriate in view of the tenor of the preceding address."

¹⁵ Judge W. Calvin Chesnut: "The clerk of our court is a very experienced official and the dignity and impressiveness of his final administration of the oath has been frequently favorably commented upon."

¹⁶ Justice F. Dickinson Letts suggests that the oath be administered to each applicant individually; that the language of the oath might well be simplified; and that, prior to the naturalization ceremony, the applicant be taught not merely the oath but its meaning as well.

ments, motions, and other unrelated activities. To prevent this appearance of routine and to give added character to the occasion, some judges hold special sessions for naturalization, going through the full ritual of opening the court, with all present standing.¹⁷ Judge George A. Welsh adds an invocation by a representative of one of the churches, and he—as well as several other judges—also includes the advancing of the colors by members of the American Legion or other patriotic organization.

Judges Phillip Forman and John E. Miller make the presentation of the certificate of citizenship to each candidate a part of the regular ceremonial of the occasion.¹⁸ The former adds an accompanying handshake and a personal word of congratulation. Again, one is reminded of the friendly formalities of commencement time. Several judges mentioned the distribution of flags, pamphlet copies of the Constitution, or other specially prepared material, by representatives of patriotic organizations.¹⁹ At the close of the ceremony several of the judges arrange that all shall stand and pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States,²⁰ and for the singing of the

¹⁷ Judge Arthur J. Tuttle: "I say keep naturalization a judicial proceeding in the courtroom and do it in a solemn way. There are two flags which stand every day at the opposite ends of my bench and they represent enough display. I do not think it needs any speeches by Governors or Mayors. * * * I want it all done by the regular officers of the court in the regular way and place. I shouldn't think of appearing before a naturalization class without wearing my robe and looking just as dignified as I know how to look. It does not matter how much work I have been doing that day; I always see to it that I come into the courtroom after those to be naturalized are seated in the room and with all my official family there. I caution them that I want the Clerk there. I want the Bailiff there to open court, and I want the representative of the naturalization office there to speak for his department. As stated, I have that done. Then I walk into the courtroom after everything is ready for the naturalization proceedings. The Bailiff opens court. There is a certain dignity and formality about the opening of court by our bailiff. He does it deliberately and solemnly."

¹⁸ Judge Forman explains the mechanics of his smooth-running procedure as follows: "Although each group numbers an average of one hundred or more the mechanics of the program have been efficiently arranged prior to the time fixed for the ceremony. Special or contested cases have been called for an earlier hour and are disposed of so that those entitled to be admitted may join the class. Photographs and signatures are appended to the certificates and they are perfected just prior to the ceremony. Tedious delay is avoided in so far as possible by staggering the intervals at which applicants are invited to report. A second courtroom is used for the mechanical work and the applicant is finally ushered into our largest courtroom for the ceremony. All this requires patient and tactful cooperation upon the part of the Clerk of the court and the naturalization department."

¹⁹ A good example is the pamphlet entitled "Americans All" by Raymond Pitcairn with a foreword by Justice Owen J. Roberts which reads: "This little book is a message to you, our newest fellow citizens, from us whose ancestors—some earlier, some later—followed the same path you have traveled, and to the same goal. That goal was a land of liberty under laws made by the people themselves. They and we have striven to keep it such. We welcome you as partners in this great enterprise."

²⁰ Judge Campbell E. Beaumont describes this part of the procedure as follows: "At the conclusion of the judge's remarks, he then announces that all present in the

national anthem. Some use, and recommend the use of additional patriotic music. Some have permitted such departures from formal judicial procedure as radio-broadcasting of the naturalization program and recording for rebroadcasting.²¹ On the other hand, some cautioned against making the proceedings too spectacular²² or overemphasizing the role of the judge. Here again we see the necessity of permitting local variation in order to secure the happy medium which accords with each judge's sense of propriety and dignity, while at the same time securing a maximum of effectiveness with the new citizens and in the community.

Where only very small courtrooms are available and when large classes of applicants are presented, it becomes a serious question whether the ceremony should not be held in some other building. The same problem has been faced by university authorities, who have in some instances constructed large halls for commencements and in others have held commencement exercises in stadia erected for athletic contests. Some of the more conservative university professors have resisted these developments just as some judges are disinclined to participate in ceremonies which are held elsewhere than in the courtroom and at other than regular court hours. While there are dangers present here, it is difficult to see how the purpose of the joint resolution can be accomplished—in some instances—unless such departures from the old conventions are permitted. Some of the judges have already done so. When the ceremony is performed, other than in a courtroom, every effort should be made to secure the courtroom atmosphere, both in the properties used and in the procedure followed. That this can be done is evidenced by presidential inaugurations at the Nation's Capitol, in a physical setting far removed from courtroom or other such facilities.

For similar reasons it may be wise to hold the naturalization session at some time other than during regular court hours. Justice F. Dickinson Letts recommends evening sessions. He contrasts hurried, daytime, per-

courtroom will stand and pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States. The judge leaves the bench, faces the United States flag and with the others gives the pledge of allegiance. It may be of interest to note just here that a large percentage of our new citizens know the pledge of allegiance. In many instances it appears that more of them know it than a group of 'old' citizens of like number casually assembled. In any event, those who respond do so with great spirit. The cloak of American citizenship seems to give them an emotional uplift, and it is quite impressive."

²¹ Judge Xenophon Hicks: "In this connection I call attention to a procedure adopted by Judge Davies of the Middle District of Tennessee. He has on more than one occasion permitted the radio people to cooperate. They have taken the naturalization proceedings which after being edited by Judge Davies have been broadcast. The judge asked me what I thought about the practice and I saw no real reason to the contrary."

²² Judge Mac Swinford: "I believe that simple ceremony is the proper procedure. Many of the proposed new citizens are timid and self-conscious and many of them came to America, and certainly our country was founded by those who came here, to get away from hollow ceremony."

functory proceedings with more leisurely evening sessions. Of the former he says: "It is not uncommon to see applicants for citizenship appear in court for induction in their work clothes and frequently in shirt sleeves. It is possible that in such situations the applicant is relieved from his employment for the brief period necessary to attend the court sessions." In contrast he says of an evening session: "All of the applicants and their friends came dressed in their best apparel . . . Before the convening and after adjournment there was a clustering about the courtroom engendering a spirit of fellowship." Another argument in favor of such evening sessions is that in this way a complete separation could be secured from the criminal court atmosphere and from other phases of court work which, while they may seem matter-of-course to lawyers and judges, are, perhaps, no more appropriate as background for naturalization ceremonies than they would be for a funeral service or a college commencement. Again, as suggested by Justice Letts, an evening session would make possible the attendance of friends, relatives, bar association groups and others, who are invited by some judges and who do attend naturalization ceremonies in some of the courts. Judge C. C. Wyche states that his sessions are usually attended by a great many citizens as well as by classes from the high schools. Judge Harry E. Watkins mentions attendance by the townspeople; Judge Grover M. Moscovitz invites students of the various colleges and high schools to attend and usually has fifty to sixty young men and women present accompanied by teachers and professors. From this group one of the students is selected to lead in pledging allegiance to the flag. Judge E. Marvin Underwood issues a general invitation to the public and special invitations to patriotic and civic groups; the names of those who represent such organizations are read aloud in open court, together with the offices held by them. Judge Shackelford Miller's courtroom is usually well filled by such representatives together with the friends and relatives of candidates for citizenship.

These many valuable suggestions of the judges—inadequately reproduced as they are in this article—reveal clearly the importance of collecting such material in the office of the Administrative Director and distributing it from time to time, not only to federal judges but to those of the state courts as well. Proved experience of one judge may be much more valuable than a rule promulgated without regard to the customs and traditions of the locality. This, together with concerted action by the Conference of Senior Circuit Judges and the several Circuit Conferences would give the desired continuity. In conclusion it may be well to note that there is room for much greater activity by lawyers and bar associations. Perhaps consideration will be given to the subject by the war work committees of such associations, which have been recently established.

Statements by

Foreign-born Americans¹

LOUIS ADAMIC, native land, Slovenia.

* * * Americanism is nobody's monopoly, but a happy concentration of some of the best aspirations of humanity almost everywhere. As it seems to me, Americanism is the highest body of idealism in the world today—a movement away from primitive racism, fear and herd instincts toward freedom, creativeness, a universal culture. Most of our thirty-eight million immigrants of the last century were escaping from oppression of some kind, either political or economic. To them, as to the Pilgrims, America was a refuge, a chance for a better life. * * *

KONRAD BERCOVICI, native land, Rumania.

* * * After all, why should we want all our citizens to be alike? America should welcome its variety—it is what makes us the most interesting, creative, vigorous people in the world. But there are other phases, the hatreds and prejudices that most immigrants have brought with them; that have to be burned out in the Melting Pot.

IRVING BERLIN, native land, U. S. S. R.

When you're over there, it seems incredible that there is a country where people don't live with fear at their back night and day * * * where you can say what you like, without looking over your shoulder to make sure nobody's listening * * * Where people have a chance to think of something besides war. Why, I came back so grateful and thankful to be an American citizen, I just had to do something to express that feeling * * * and, being a song writer, I wanted to write a song about it.

* * * Of the many songs I've written in the past 30 years, I think "God Bless America" is nearest my heart.

DR. A. J. CARLSON, native land, Sweden.

* * * The greatest gifts of America to me, as a naturalized citizen, are first, the privilege to work and second, the privilege to share in the Herculean task of making Democracy work. These gifts are shared by every emigrant who with all his might, all his grit, and all his hope puts his shoulder to the wheel of our unfinished task. The freedoms, the privileges, and the responsibilities won by our forefathers on these shores,

¹ Excerpts from scripts used in broadcasts put on by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company the latter part of 1940 and the early part of 1941.

must be won anew by each generation. They cannot be handed down, like our rivers, and our prairies, our mountains, and our lakes. * * *

DR. WALTER DAMROSCHE, native land, Germany.

* * * Music is the one great international language, and if through music we can create a feeling of universal brotherhood, isn't this just another way to express the ideal of Democracy? And that's what being an American means. Here we do not stop to ask a man what his racial antecedents may be—German, French, Italian, Norwegian, English—He is still an American. And so, if a man has a soul for music and learns to love it culturally, his nationality will not matter.

United States Senator JAMES J. DAVIS, native land, Wales.

* * * America is my home, my country. Here I have found opportunity for self-improvement, inspiration for high attainment, courage to do the impossible. All that I am and have belongs to my country. I want to give her strength of arms, clearness of vision, warmth of heart, and the will to go on. The man without a country is a man without a destiny. The man who is true to his country understands the heartbeat of all men. This is our country. May we always cherish and honor, fortify and defend her, and forgetting our differences of the moment let us work together on the areas of our common obligations and unity. In the spirit of good will we shall stand united for victory.

MAJOR ALEXANDER DE SEVERSKY, native land, U. S. S. R.

* * * The strength of our nation lies in its diversity of people; in the marvelous way that they have adjusted themselves one to another, into a perfect mosaic. That mosaic is cemented by mutual respect, mutual tolerance, a desire to recognize the virtues and talents of individuals without regard to their origins. But by the same token, the most vulnerable phase of American life is in that very mosaic. That is where we can be attacked—by driving a wedge between groups, by making artificial distinctions between first-generation and second-generation Americans, between native-born and naturalized. Those who raise such false issues are boring into the very foundations upon which our great nation is built.

PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN, native land, Germany.

Making allowances for human imperfections, I do feel that in America the most valuable thing in life is possible, the development of the individual and his creative powers. There may be men who can live without political rights and without opportunity of free individual development. But I think that this is intolerable for most Americans. Here, for generations, men have never been under the humiliating necessity of unquestioning obedience. Here human dignity has been developed to such a point that

it would be impossible for people to endure life under a system in which the individual is only a slave of the state and has no voice in his government and no decision on his own way of life.

ELISSA LANDI, native land, Austria.

* * * I said to myself, what an amazing country. Everyone seems to take a real interest in everyone else. That, after all, is Democracy. One thing I'll never forget: When I went to get my final citizenship papers—it was a beautiful experience—there were 400 of my co-applicants standing in line and later crowded together in a large room. One little old woman seemed very frightened, on the verge of tears. An official went over to her and patted her on the shoulder and said, "Now, now, mother—take it easy. Nothing to be scared about." And this was to be my country! Imagine a European official comforting an immigrant!

DR. MAX LERNER, native land, U. S. S. R.

* * * Democracy to survive must not only be defensive—it must be dynamic—militant, a revolutionary force with the same appeal to men's imaginations and emotions it had in the beginning. Long-time Americans must remember that the founders of this country were willing to risk their lives to establish the most amazing experiment in human living that had ever been tried. Those of us who are newer Americans have not forgotten the wrench of change, the revolt against intolerable conditions in our native countries which brought us here.

All Americans, old and new, must think of ourselves today, not as defenders of the old, the past—but pioneers and leaders in a new crusade for mankind!

WILLIAM KNUDSEN, native land, Denmark.

* * * Only Democracy gives a man the opportunity to make as much or as little of himself as he wishes. That's the difference in my mind between Democracy and Totalitarianism, the difference between centralization and decentralization, the State and the individual. My own mental picture of Democracy shows a country or a city, a community or a factory, a farm or a simple home where justice, care for the sick or weak, and the greatest good for all is obtained with the greatest amount of individual action possible. * * *

America is the most emotional country in the world! When people here are told about famines or disasters or war and destruction in other parts of the world, what happens? The children in the little villages start saving their pennies to help. The women in farmhouses and cabins and the homes of workers stop in the midst of their housework to knit socks. In what other country would you find people doing such things for strangers?

* * * Immigrant is just another name for pioneer. We all come

here to find independence and self-expression as much as wealth. In the old days the Vikings went forth and sold the shield and sword and battle axe to the service of other men, and were loyal to the men who treated them fairly and squarely. America treats its people decently, protects their constitutional guarantees, gives them a chance to make a living and educate their children, all Americans, whether they're native or foreign-born, will treat America decently in turn. * * *

HENRY MORGENTHAU, SR., native land, Germany.

* * * American civilization as it now is, is an amalgam of all that is best in human thought. It is a combination of all the virtues of all the nations that have come to the United States. It is true that their vices also may be there, but the constant boiling and dissolution that goes on in the mixture of the cauldron in which these elements intermingle, cause them to melt first, and solidify afterwards into a fine strong substance, a substance dominated by virtues, for in the boiling process, the dross is thrown off, the unassimilative matter is discarded, and that which is good and fine remains to strengthen the whole. . . .

PAUL MUNI, native land, Austria.

* * * As long as the political machinery for change and improvement is in the hands of our citizens they have no cause to complain if through their own indifference or ignorance they fail to make use of it to help themselves and their neighbors. The trouble is too many people want to accept without contributing or participating. We need to get onto terms of intimacy with Democracy. It seems to me that some may forget that we are the Government in the United States.

ANGELO PATRI, native land, Italy.

* * * Liberty and justice are words. If we don't put life into them by living out their meaning in our dealings with our neighbors, close by or far away, we are not living the American idea. When the Pilgrims, the Cavaliers, the pioneers, shared their last grains of corn with each other, when one man's grief was the deep concern of all, when they helped each other through pain and sorrow and rejoiced each in his neighbor's joy, they were being real Americans whether they lived in log cabins or soddies, in tents or in white pillared mansions. Sharing, serving, loving is the American way and it rises beyond the words of the Constitution and the letter of the law. * * *

DR. BELA SCHICK, native land, Hungary.

* * * Democracy means the way of life which concerns itself with the health of its people as an ordinary part of existence. It takes a peace-loving government to develop high standards of living for all its people. Nations whose ideologies are centered around the thought of conquest are

likely to force science into the service of their warlike aims and neglect all other phases of life. In contrast to a Democracy where men are given the freedom to do their own work in their own way, doctors, research workers, professors, in totalitarian states are told what they must think and prove. We must expect the death of science wherever this conception persists.

MADAME SCHUMANN-HEINK, native land, Germany.

* * * Blessed Land, America, gave us everything—opportunities, benefits, and, above all, Freedom of heart, mind and soul—she accepted us and trusted us to the fullest extent when we came as strangers to this land, and even in these troubled times—surely, my sons, surely this is a land worth fighting for!

IGOR SIKORSKY, native land, U. S. S. R.

* * * Thank God I am here, a free man, breathing free air. No man can order what I do! If I fail I can try again! It takes a naturalized citizen from a less happy country to appreciate what freedom really means. He sees a new world about him, just like a man let out of jail!

* * * I have lived in other countries. I have seen the alternative, and I want my children and myself to live in this country which is still the land of freedom and opportunity, in which democracy is a real active principle and tradition, not just a name. * * *

LEOPOLD STOKOWSKI, native land, Poland.

The place of one's birth is an accident. I have often felt that the foreign-born Americans who, like myself, deliberately chose the country where we would live and do our life work are more than natives of the New World. The very act of transferring our loyalties and destiny to this country demands a faith in its way of life which few native-born Americans are ever called upon to feel.

* * * Music can overcome hatred and conflict, and bring the poor and rich, the unfortunate and the happy, and the people of all races together in one shared emotion of sympathy and compassion. Music speaks to humanity of the things they have in common, not of the theories or ambitions or ideas on which they disagree. Love, hope, despair, compassion, noble aspirations, sacrifice, happiness, sorrow—these are the subject matter of all great music, and these are the common emotions shared by all human beings alike. Why, the very synonym for Music is harmony! Greed, ambition, suspicion, intolerance, prejudice—these are discords and have no place in the world of Music. * * *

The names of my young players show that they have come from many backgrounds and birthplaces—Poland, Germany, Italy, Greece, Russia—and every one of them good, earnest, loyal Americans! An orchestra is one of the most democratic institutions possible. Everyone has his individual part, yet everyone works together for the whole. We do not ask where a player

is born, only whether he is a competent musician. You will not find intolerance or racial prejudice among the members of a great orchestra, or I think among those who listen to great music. The more of these things we have in our national life, the more united we shall be as a nation. * * *

U. S. SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER, native land, Germany.

* * * Democracy, after all, means much more than going through the motions of popular government. It is an instrument to foster life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness by the people at large in their daily working lives. Men do not struggle to defend something they do not have and to which they cannot aspire. Armaments are essential, of course, to defend our land and our institutions against invasion by any combination of hostile powers. But my point is, democracy cannot be defended by armaments alone. * * *

* * * Those born under a foreign rule with memories of another way of life do not take the privileges and freedoms of democracy lightly or for granted. They came here—they left their homes, families, familiar surroundings because they believed that democracy would really provide freedom and opportunity for them and their children. They think of freedom not merely as a word in a patriotic vocabulary but as something to cherish—to struggle for—to fight for and defend—and if need be, to die for! It is not often realized that one out of every three persons in our population today is foreign born or the child of a foreign-born parent. Only in a democracy has it been possible for those many races and creeds to live and work in peace, and contribute their full measure toward the common goal of national greatness. Only through renewed devotion to that democratic ideal, can we maintain the national unity which is so essential to the national defense.

KURT WEILL, native land, Germany.

Those who come here seeking the freedom, justice, opportunity and human dignity they miss in their own countries are already Americans before they come. * * *

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, native land, Hungary.

* * * Democracy is precious * * * because it is an achievement and not an inheritance. The consciousness of being an American is always with me, while you as a native-born American may forget your birthright because you take it so much for granted. Democracy is a faith and not a political or economic system. I am of the opinion that all Americans had better again renew some of the emotional spirit that led our forefathers across oceans and through the wilderness to establish a land of liberty. In the words of the poet, "to rebuke the age's popular crime, we need the souls of fire, the hearts of that old time." * * *

Suggestions for

Addresses to New Citizens

ADDRESS TO NEW CITIZENS¹

WOODROW WILSON, *Twenty-seventh President of the United States*

This is the only country in the world which experiences this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drawing strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. * * *

You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them. * * *

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. * * * America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. * * * We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite. * * *

¹ Excerpts from an address to 5,000 newly naturalized citizens at proceedings of the naturalization reception, held at Philadelphia, Pa., May 10, 1915.

I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are. * * *

A nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind. * * *

You have come into this great Nation voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, and all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. We cannot exempt you from the strife and the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere; we cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry. We can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE²

ROBERT N. WILKIN, *Judge, United States District Court, Northern District of Ohio*

The enthusiasm of naturalized citizens for citizenship, their gratitude for its rights and privileges, stand in marked contrast to the indifference of some people who acquired their citizenship by birth. Too often what is easily acquired is little valued.

This program to commemorate the adoption of our Constitution has allowed time for this ceremony in order that native citizens might be impressed by the fact that citizenship is anxiously sought by those who did not acquire it by merely being born here. As we rejoice with new citizens over their realization, we gain a deeper sense of gratitude for the gift of our forebears.

There probably never was a time when citizenship in our country was more appreciated or its rights more openly challenged in the world. Such appreciation today arises from the very fact that such rights are so challenged. In the countries from which many new citizens came, individual freedom has been utterly destroyed. Despotism and tyranny have again asserted themselves to an extent which a few years ago we would have thought impossible. We who still enjoy freedom and have faith in righteousness stand appalled that so many people can be drawn to the support of government which is so ruthless of private rights, so inconsiderate of

² Excerpts from address to naturalized citizens at Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 17, 1940.

moral principles, which makes a strategy of terror, a science of cruelty, and an art of deception.

It is absolutely necessary for us to understand the issue before the world today, if we are to save our sacred rights and hand them on to those who succeed us. All that makes life worth while to free men is at stake. It is not mere strife between individual leaders or separate nations. It is a head-on collision between two different conceptions of social organization. The issue is despotism or democracy.

When we mention democracy we do not mean so much the form of government as an attitude toward life. And that attitude is primarily religious. The democratic way of life recognizes that something in man is divine; and therefore that man is sacred to man, and that all men are equal before the law. It recognizes that because man is a social being he must have government, but it believes, however, that the law which should govern is found not in the will of a dictator, but in the common reason and conscience of men.

Americanism is not based upon place, nor race, nor language, nor sect—it is a way of life, the democratic way. It cannot prevail against the organized force and propaganda that assail it unless those who enjoy its benefits have a burning enthusiasm for it, unless those who believe in it are willing to be evangelists, patriots and, if necessary, martyrs. Such patriotism will unify our diverse elements and enable us to present a united front to the regimented forces that challenge us. We must discard our apathy and cynicism. The inspiration of our forebears for liberty and freedom must move us as it moved them.

To acquire your citizenship you have taken an oath of allegiance. You have sworn that you will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, both foreign and domestic. What you as new citizens have promised to do, it is certainly incumbent upon all citizens to do. New citizens would surely not be expected to do more than those citizens who have lived longer in the noble tradition of our Constitution. For our own benefit and the benefit of this Nation and all the world there is nothing better that we can do. In defending our Constitution, we defend the democratic way of life.

SUGGESTED ADDRESS TO NEW CITIZENS BY A NATURALIZED CITIZEN³

EVA LIPS

It is not for my own sake—for I had become an American in Washington years ago—but for the sake of future citizens and future “final hearings” that I wish to suggest a few words a future judge might say to those eager

³ Excerpts from REBIRTH IN LIBERTY. New York. 1942.

to receive the sacred inspiration. Not presumptuousness, prompts me to do so, but the love for my country and the love for those men and women who have served, as I did, seven full years for the privilege of becoming Americans and who appear at the final hearing like chastened souls entering Paradise after a long stay in Purgatory.

Fellow Americans!

Let the judge, who has found your applications righteous and your eagerness to achieve American citizenship genuine, be the first to congratulate you on this great day in your lives. The family of one hundred and thirty-two million whom you have shunned no obstacle to join welcomes you as their own. This day to which you have looked forward for so long is indeed one of overwhelming importance.

It was not you but fate that chose for you the day and the place of your birth. But it is you alone who have proudly and independently decided that you wished to spend your present and your future lives in the community of this mightiest nation on earth, whose very existence is built upon the immortal ideal of democracy.

From this day on, the far-away countries which you once knew have sunk into the oceans surrounding our continent. America does not ask you any longer: "Where do you come from?" But rather takes you into her arms with the question: "Will you be a good fellow citizen?" Whether you originate from ancient Persia, whether from the West Indies, from England, or from one of the unhappy nations of the European continent who are tortured by hatred and jealousy—your country does not care. We all, even the ancestors of Washington, the Father of our Nation, once came from somewhere else, voluntarily, proudly, and with the resolution to be free and to stay free.

The United States offers you so much that you will have little reason to look back upon a life which lies behind you like the outgrown clothes of your childhood. The time of narrowness is over. The wealth and the resources of your country are immeasurable. Did you know that France does not even cover the area of our one state of Texas? That the United States is seventeen times larger than Germany? That all Italy comprises merely about three-quarters of the size of California?

Our nation does not consist of one or three or ten states like these, but of forty-eight! And they are not fighting each other as are the diminutive states of Europe. They are united! Do you realize what that word means? Do you understand the greatness of our government which rules, in independence and in peace, these free and happy states; that it is a government of the people, by the people, for the people which grants to you Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness? No other government on earth includes human happiness in its fundamental principles.

This happiness is now yours. Remember the men who have fought for it in your behalf. Realize the responsibility of being free!

I know you are proud as I am to be fully recognized children of the mightiest nation on earth. You are ready as I am, I see it in your scintillating eyes, to defend the soil and the ideals of this our nation with all you possess. In a world torn by hatred, in a world of destruction, our country, our hemisphere are God's reservoir of construction. But greater than the immensity of our soil is the greatness of our ideals—ideals which have brought you here. Whoever dares to challenge these ideals will perish under our united reaction.

Pray to your God that He make you worthy of this citizenship. Wherever His Heaven may be, whatever the shape of the Paradise you believe in—you are free to worship in liberty on the soil of America.

During the many years of your American lives, you have been reborn into a new, better form of existence. You have learned a new language; new customs, new holidays have become yours. You have learned to celebrate Thanksgiving with an American turkey on your table; you understand now the meaning of our Fourth of July. Whenever you are in despair or grief, the image of Abraham Lincoln who died in the service of this your country will strengthen you, because it is he who helped build our "new nation, conceived in liberty"; it is he who symbolizes your and my America.

THE MEANING OF AMERICA FOR ITALIAN-AMERICANS *

Ugo Carusi, *Executive Assistant to the Attorney General*

The hands that built America belonged to people of more than sixty nationalities. They were working hands and artistic hands. The minds that moved those hands had one great idea in common: Democracy and all the decent principles of life for which Democracy stands.

Let no one make you believe that we of Italian origin or ancestry are a group separated from other Americans. We, definitely, are not. We are part of this land. We constitute the largest foreign-born group in this country. We are proud of that fact, for it means that we can do more for the United States. As much as we love the soil from which we sprang—what human being does not bear a natural love for his native soil—we love this country, where we have transplanted our roots, above all. Here is our present and our future. Here our family trees have grown and prospered. Some of those trees have borne valuable fruit. In the field of American culture, we are contributing immeasurably to this country of ours, just as in other days we have contributed a great deal to its material development with the work of our hands and our building skills. Our immigrants helped develop this nation into the richest on earth, rich in material wealth and rich in humanitarianism.

They brought color and variety to this country, and our culture began to blossom with the nourishment of old-world contributions. The process is

* Excerpts from a radio address delivered at Cleveland, Ohio.

still going on, and those who understand its workings are rightly proud of the results it has produced and of the tremendous possibilities still ahead.

A well-known student of immigrant groups has stated that in the very diversified character of our population lies the hope for a great universal culture. He points out that we should encourage our various nationality groups to preserve the cultural traits that distinguish them from other groups and he suggests as a motto "Let's make America safe for differences." What he means, of course, is let us take advantage of the contributions our foreign-born groups bring to this Nation. Let us not stifle them, for they represent a rich heritage that has taken many centuries of history to accumulate.

Another student of America, now an official in the State Department, has put this idea in another way. In a recent article he wrote: ". . . our American ideal should be expressed not in terms of a 'melting pot' with its somewhat mournful implication of uniformity, but rather in terms of an orchestra, in which each racial group, like an orchestral choir, contributes its special, different tone to the rich ensemble of the whole."

Some of you may say: That is a pretty idea, but how about those Americans who don't see America that way, who think that their kind should constitute the entire orchestra. There are those people in this country, it is true. They represent prejudices that do not fit in with the American way of life. They are the people who still do not know what true Americanism means, and I am glad to say that they are a small—though noisy—minority.

Most of us came to this country for more bread or more liberty. Some had the thought that some day they would return to their homeland. Only a few ever went back. Most of us developed a lasting love for this adopted land. We probably all have different explanations for our love. Some of us love it because we have established our homes here; some because our children were born here and had opportunities for advancement they would never have had in any other land.

One American of Italian origin said he loved America because he could go from Boston to Brooklyn without anyone asking him why he wanted to make the trip and how long he was going to stay. Offhand this might seem to be a small reason, but this man had breathed the foul air of oppression and the freedom of travel was something fine and precious to him. Another, who had also lived under a dictatorship, said he loved America because here he could say what he liked without having to look over his shoulder to see if anyone was listening. A third, whose mother had recently died in an American city, said that when you bury someone you love in this country's soil you yourself belong to that soil forever.

These are a few, simple, homely illustrations, it is true, but they can be multiplied by the hundreds, and all together they reflect the force which has drawn millions to these shores, has instilled in their hearts a love for America which no power can remove, and has made them proudly say, "This is my home."

ADDRESS TO NEW CITIZENS⁵

FRANCIS J. WILCOX

The preamble of the Declaration of Independence sets forth in language, which cannot be improved upon, the essential religious basis for our government. "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This phrase is basically a religious principle for it presupposes the creation of man by a Supreme Being. It presupposes this Supreme Being gave to each individual certain rights which are above the power of man or government to interfere with. It gives the only sound reason for the sanctity of liberty or freedom and that is that the individual has a spiritual background and a spiritual quality which makes him and his individual dignity more important than any expediency or efficiency which might be produced by the interference with liberty. Without this religious concept, it is all too easy to accept the pragmatic test of the modern-day search for efficiency and it is all too easy to surrender temporarily or permanently such individual dignity for the purpose of achieving this efficiency, but if man clings to the importance of the principle laid down by the founding fathers of our country, one realizes that the search for efficiency is not paramount to the sanctity of freedom and one's heart responds with clarity and force to the appeal of the individual dignity of man.

AMERICA⁶

J. F. T. O'CONNOR, *Judge, United States District Court, Southern District of California*

"In the pathway of the setting sun, three thousand miles away, was another world with giant forests and mighty rivers, with endless plains richer than the Nile, and the majestic mountains crowned with snow. Bison and buffalo, fish and fowl, fruits and wild grain in abundance—a veritable paradise on earth. Tell me, Sage, why was this new world hidden for so many centuries from man? My own feeble explanation can perhaps satisfy only myself. It was in the divine plan that man should first prove his worthiness to this inheritance—that the bloody battles of ambitious kings where people were just pawns should be fought in the Old World and not in the New, that the fallacy of the divine right of any king to rule should

⁵ Excerpt from the remarks on the occasion of Citizenship Day, Eau Claire, Wisc., May 18, 1940.

⁶ Excerpt from an address delivered on the occasion of "I Am An American Day," May 7, 1941.

find its urn in the palaces of a decadent civilization; that the poison weeds of intolerance and race hatred should never be transplanted to the virgin soil of the land beyond the sea! Here a new race was to arrive—not with a single origin, but from the blended blood of the best people from every land under the sun, men and women with a new destiny, bringing from their own lands only the finest fruits of their civilization and leaving in the ashes of the fires that burned through the centuries, the hatreds and the jealousies that divided a people and destroyed empires.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP⁷

F. LYMAN WINDOLPH, *member of the Lancaster County Bar, Lancaster, Pa.*

As the representative for the time being of the Bench and Bar of Lancaster County, I am permitted to speak to those of you who are about to take the oath of allegiance as citizens of the United States.

In one sense you are about to experience an extraordinary, almost a magic, transformation. You came into this court room a few minutes ago as subjects of various sovereignties—German, Italian, English, Russian, Polish. Words will be spoken and ceremony will be performed. When it is over you will walk out of the court room as American citizens, released from your old ties and bound by a new tie not only to one another but also to those other Americans with whom you have lived and worked for at least 5 years. In somewhat the same way a man and a woman come to be married. Words are spoken, a ceremony is performed, and the whole lives of the man and woman are changed. There is a new loyalty, a new obligation, and a new hope.

In another sense the experience of becoming an American, instead of being extraordinary, is so ordinary as to be almost commonplace. Our fathers did not seek to keep America for themselves. They did not rest their hopes for the future on a single generation or a single nationality. On the contrary, they believed that ordinary people of any nationality, if they can agree about fundamentals—about the things that matter most—and are willing to fight, if necessary, in order to preserve them, are wise enough to make self-government practicable and strong enough to make self-government safe. Therefore, our laws have always provided for the naturalization of aliens, and every generation of Americans has been enriched by persons like yourselves who have come to this country from abroad, eager to share in the blessings which America has to bestow on the terms on which she is willing to bestow them. As it was given to our fathers in old times and as our fathers have given to us, so we give.

The oath which will be administered to you has two parts. In the first part you will absolutely and entirely renounce allegiance and fidelity to any

⁷ Address delivered at a naturalization hearing in the County Court House, Lancaster, Pa., March 7, 1941.

foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty. There are potentates and sovereigns in the world today who contend that these words are meaningless—that it is impossible to renounce what is called natural allegiance—the allegiance which a subject owes to the sovereignty under which he was born—and that, no matter what words may be used, your natural allegiance will continue. This is an old doctrine and we Americans have always regarded it as false. The oath means what it says. When you have taken it you will owe all your allegiance to the United States. The natural allegiance by which you have been hitherto bound will be destroyed as completely as if it had never existed. If you have any other intention, I warn you now that you stand on the verge of perjury and in the shadow of treason.

In the second part of the oath you will swear to support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

Our fathers came to America from many lands. Some of them were hungry. Perhaps some of you have been hungry. Some of them did not have enough clothing to cover them and were cold. Perhaps some of you have been cold. Some of them had been threatened and oppressed in the old world. Perhaps some of you have been threatened and oppressed. Our fathers wanted many things—the opportunity to work and to acquire property, freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, freedom of speech, freedom from imprisonment without a fair trial. These wants were afterwards expressed in the Declaration of Independence in the statements that "all men * * * are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and that "to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence are moral rights. Our fathers wanted to make them political rights as well. Therefore they built the politics of the Constitution of the United States on the morals of the Declaration of Independence.

The Constitution is a statement of the fundamental points about which all Americans are agreed. As citizens of the United States you will have the right to vote. This is an important privilege and you ought to exercise it whenever you have the opportunity. Nevertheless, we only vote about what are really minor matters—for instance, about who is to be President of the United States or Governor of Pennsylvania or Mayor of Lancaster. When the election is over and the votes have been counted, the successful candidate is not a democratic president or a republican governor or mayor. He is our president, our governor or our mayor. But we never vote about the questions that are truly fundamental. We never vote, for instance, about whether Gentiles are to persecute Jews or Jews are to persecute Gentiles, or about whether accused persons are to be tried promptly and

openly or are to be locked up in jails and concentration camps without any trial at all. All of these questions were settled and taken for granted at the time the Constitution was adopted. If we thought that you did not agree with us about the way in which they were settled—if we thought that you did not love and admire our Constitution as we do—we would not want you as fellow citizens. Because we are persuaded that you do agree with us—because we believe that you will keep your oath to support and defend the Constitution—we are about to admit you to the rights and duties of citizenship.

Do not be deceived. Every right begets a corresponding duty. We promise you the pursuit of happiness. We do not promise you happiness. We promise you equality of opportunity. We do not promise you riches. We promise you freedom of speech. We do not promise you wisdom. We promise you liberty. We do not promise you peace.

And now, my friends, on what I hope is, for you at least, a memorable occasion, I welcome you among us as American citizens. Each morning when our court crier opens court he ends his proclamation with these words: "God save the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." It is a noble prayer, but I suggest to you a more inclusive one. God save our country—God save the United States of America.

NATURALIZATION ⁸

JOHN W. DELEHANT, *Judge, United States District Court, District of Nebraska*

In the performance of the duty, and the enjoyment of the privilege which the statutes of the United States assign to me on this occasion, I shall presume to draw your attention to an easily and frequently neglected truth. And I shall express it in this fashion: the preservation of democratic freedom is most surely promoted by the practice of individual cooperation, restraint, and forbearance.

You are, at the moment, engaged in the final service in your achievement of full citizenship under the laws of the United States. When you go forth from this building you will be American citizens, entitled to every privilege and right enjoyed by us whose status rests upon birth, save only the possibility of election to the presidency of the United States. The most celebrated and valued of the attributes of your citizenship are the rights and immunities which are guaranteed in the federal Constitution and its bill of rights, which serve to exalt the individual citizen, to emphasize his significance, and to translate into concrete reality the shadowy abstractions of liberty and democracy. They are the personal and palpable things which, taken together, mean democracy.

⁸ Excerpts from address delivered to newly naturalized citizens.

Perhaps the most cherished of our rights of citizenship are those which fall within the broad scope of freedom of opinion and expression. They include liberty of political thought and action, freedom of conscience and worship, and the right of unfettered expression through the written and spoken word. They are, of all our national treasures, the most highly prized; first, because they promote the security of the human spirit, as distinguished from the material aspect of living, and secondly, because they pertain to the actions wherein, historically, men have been most universally and most distressingly restrained. The impact of tyranny, however crude, has always fallen ultimately and radically upon the souls of its victims. Their initial experience of oppression may have had to do with the denial of bread. But physical hunger has never been a tyrant's objective. He has always, and necessarily, sought for dominion over his victims' hearts and souls, and material repression has rarely been more than an instrument, never an end.

Probably in consequence of their very pricelessness, the liberties I mention are also the most easily lost, the most wantonly abused treasures of our American heritage. And they stand in peril of loss in direct proportion as they are abused.

You will miss the whole message of American democracy, if you fail to apprehend the truth that our national way of life is founded on a broad and rational accommodation between unrestrained individual freedom on the one hand, and the necessities of community living on the other. Washington and his collaborators in the moulding of the constitution publicly acknowledged and defended that adjustment, for it is a compromise in social living, not of conscience.

Our vaunted American liberty has never been rightly confused with unlimited personal freedom of action and expression. It has never been synonymous with license. One's careless assertion of the right to do as might please him has always been subject to the qualification that he must not trespass upon the acknowledged liberties of his neighbor or violate the rights, or neglect the claims upon him of the general social body.

And so in this ceremony in which I welcome you into our citizenship and the enjoyment of the freedom which we proclaim and cherish, I am disposed to be practical, and to appeal to you for temperance and discretion in your personal employment of that freedom during the present emergency. It may occur to you that there is a lack of warmth in this restrained welcome to participation in our liberties. That is not true. We ardently cherish these rights and privileges of citizenship which chiefly distinguish our United States from other nations, and we derive joy and profit from sharing them with you who voluntarily acquire American citizenship. But we can not extend them to others unless we preserve them for ourselves. And we can not preserve them if we ourselves abuse them.

They are the badge of true democracy, but, perverted, they are, at the same time, its primary source of peril. Absolutism wholly denies them,

that thereby it may rule securely and fight effectively. Let us, by our becoming and considered restraint, prove to the world, not least of all to those peoples, whose leaders are now our enemies, that true democracy rationally appraised and cherished, and discreetly enjoyed, can be both effective and triumphant.

OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE⁹

It is fitting that on this important occasion I should briefly sketch for you some of your blessings and privileges. It is even more important that I should remind you of the obligations which you must now assume along with these blessings and privileges. * * *

Let us examine, first of all, our national heritage.

We are heaven-blessed to live in America. It is the richest and most beautiful continent in the world. Here nature has lavished its most bounteous gifts. We have great oceans, sun-bathed beaches, majestic mountains, mighty rivers, placid lakes, boundless forests, fertile plains, rolling prairies, and an ideal climate.

Upon this land of plenty we have erected more prosperous cities than can be found anywhere else. Our towering skyscrapers, our industrial centers, and our efficient methods of mass production amaze all other peoples. We have more miles of railroads, more paved highways, more automobiles, more radios, more movies, more fine schools, more hospitals, more commercial and private airplanes, more newspapers, magazines, libraries, and more gold than any other country in the world. Our homes are the most modern of all.

The United States contains only 6 percent of the world's area, and 7 percent of its population, yet it consumes normally 48 percent of the world's coffee, 53 percent of its tin, 56 percent of its rubber, 21 percent of its sugar, 72 percent of its silk, 36 percent of its coal, 42 percent of its pig iron, 47 percent of its copper, and 69 percent of its crude petroleum, to mention just a few of our advantages.

Let us now examine our heritage of liberty and freedom. This is the heritage of our human rights, both economic and political.

Our economic rights include:

1. The right of the individual to seek the kind of gainful employment he chooses. No authority, or custom equivalent to authority, can dictate any American's choice of a vocation, though of course circumstances may determine it.

2. The right of the individual to sell the products of his work, in goods or services, or any of his lawful possessions, to anyone at any time. This means a free exchange of goods and services.

⁹ Excerpts from suggested address for American Legion speakers on Citizenship Recognition Day, May 18, 1941.

3. The right of the individual to use the proceeds of such sales as he sees fit—to save, to invest, to spend, or to give away—according to his own preferences and according to laws governing such transactions. This carries out the principle of free exchange.

4. The right of the individual to own private property and to enjoy the use of it so long as such use does not interfere with the right of another to a like use of his own property.

These rights are not recognized in all countries. They are recognized in countries we think of as constitutional democracies. The freedom of this individual to work in an occupation where he can do something worth while, to accumulate something from the proceeds of his work, and to enjoy the fruits of his accomplishments is essential, it is felt in such countries, to the common welfare and to human progress.

Americans do not wish to see such rights restricted for any individual by any government beyond the requirement to preserve them for other individuals, nor do Americans approve restrictions by any private group, whether corporation or labor union, beyond the requirements to maintain the rights of individuals and the rights of other groups. And we not only expect the government we have set up to respect these rights but also depend on our government to protect them.

Our economic rights are close-woven with our political rights.

Our political rights include:

1. The right to constitutional government, by which the people have granted to, or withheld from, government certain specific powers stated in the Constitution of the United States, and these grants and prohibitions may be changed only by a process provided for in that document.

2. The right to choose and change the officers entrusted with the conduct of the government by orderly elections as provided in the Constitution; likewise the right to choose state and local government officers as provided in the constitution and laws of the states.

3. Freedom of religion.

4. Freedom of speech and of the press.

5. Freedom of peaceable assembly.

6. The right to petition—freedom to present opinions, including requests and protests, to any executive or legislative officers.

7. The right to be secure in his “person, house, papers, and effects” against unreasonable searches and seizures.

8. Protection against being “deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law,” and against the taking of his property for public use without just compensation.

9. The right, when accused of crime, whether in violation of the laws of the United States or of any State or locality, to have his accusers face him in open court; to have the charges first considered by a grand jury if serious offenses are charged, and then stated clearly and definitely in a formal

indictment, if they are not dismissed, so that he will know of just what he is accused; the right to a speedy trial; the right not to be held meanwhile under excessive bail out of proportion to the seriousness of the charges; the right to a trial by a jury selected fairly and properly; the right not to be required to testify against himself; the right not to be tried again for the same offense after being once acquitted or convicted; the right not to be punished for acts lawful at the time they were committed but later made unlawful; the right not to be punished for criticising the government unless such criticism extends to treason under the provisions of the Constitution.

10. Protection in the rights of citizenship, regardless of race, color, religion, economic conditions, or political affiliations; and no State may "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

These rights * * * along with other constitutional restrictions of the powers of government, give the individual a wide range of freedom to improve his social and economic condition by his own agencies, and broad protection against oppression by either a majority or an organized minority anywhere holding political power.

The safety of the State is watchfulness in the citizen!

All your blessings, your rights, your freedom, your liberty, spring from the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. It is your sacred responsibility from now on to uphold and defend this Constitution and this Bill. That is why you have the ballot.

Our government in the future will be as good as you make it!

This great inheritance of democracy and self-government, which is now yours, is the product of untold sacrifices. For untold centuries men have fought and labored through long and tortuous years that the rights which we now enjoy might be ours. Under our system we intrust this precious heritage in the hands of the people themselves.

* * * You have become a sovereign citizen. You are the source of the authority of our government. You have upon your shoulders the preservation of this great boon of freedom for which others have paid so dearly. If you do not appreciate the importance of this sovereign privilege, if you do not exercise it and exercise it wisely, it will be lost and the old long cycle of confusion and suffering will be once more ahead. * * *

IMMIGRANT GIFTS TO AMERICAN LIFE¹⁰

FRANKLIN K. LANE, *former Secretary of the Interior*

America is a land of but one people, gathered from many countries. Some came for love of money and some for love of freedom. Whatever the lure that brought us, each has his gift. Irish lad and Scot, Englishman

¹⁰ Foreword to THE BOOK OF AMERICA'S MAKING EXPOSITION. 71st Regiment Armory, New York. Oct. 29 to Nov. 12, 1921.

and Dutch, Italian, Greek, and French, Spaniard, Slav, Teuton, Norse, Negro—all have come bearing gifts and have laid them on the altar of America.

All brought their music—dirge and dance and wassail song, proud march and religious chant. All brought music and their instruments for the making of music, those many children of the harp and lute.

All bought their poetry, winged tales of man's many passions, folksongs and psalm, ballads of heroes and tunes of the sea, lilting scraps caught from the sky and field, or mighty dramas that tell of primal struggles of the profoundest meaning. All brought poetry.

All brought art, fancies of the mind, woven in wood or wool, silk, stone or metal—rugs and baskets, gates of fine design and modeled gardens, houses and walls, pillars, roofs, windows, statues and painting—all brought their art and handcraft.

Then, too, each brought some homely thing, some touch of the familiar home field or forest, kitchen or dress—a favorite tree or fruit, an accustomed flower, a style in cookery or in costume—each brought some homelike familiar thing.

And all brought hands with which to work.

And all brought minds that could conceive.

And all brought hearts filled with home—stout hearts to drive live minds—live minds to direct willing hands. * * *

These were the gifts they brought.

At the Altar of America we have sworn ourselves to a single loyalty. We have bound ourselves to sacrifice and struggle, to plan and to work for this land. We have given that we may gain, we have surrendered that we may have victory. We have taken an oath that the world shall have a chance to know how much of good may be gathered from all countries and how solid in its strength, how wise, how fertile in its yield, how lasting and sure is the life of a people who are one.

Prayers, pledges, oaths of allegiance

Creeds and Codes

A PRAYER FOR OUR COUNTRY¹

Almighty God, who has given us this good land for our heritage, we humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning, and pure manners. Save us from violence, discord and confusion, from pride and arrogance, and from every evil way. Defend our liberties and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought hither, of many kindreds and tongues.

Endow with the spirit of wisdom those to whom, in Thy name, we entrust the authority of government, that there may be peace and justice at home; and that, through obedience to Thy law, we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth.

In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness; in the day of trouble, suffer not our trust in Thee to fail. *Amen.*

PRAYER

God of the free, we pledge our hearts and lives today to the cause of all free mankind.

Grant us victory over the tyrants who would enslave all free men and nations. Grant us faith and understanding to cherish all those who fight for freedom as if they were our brothers. Grant us brotherhood in hope and union, not only for the space of this bitter war, but for the days to come which shall and must unite all the children of earth.

Our earth is but a small star in the great universe. Yet of it we can make, if we choose, a planet unvexed by war, untroubled by hunger or fear, undivided by senseless distinctions of race, color, or theory. Grant us that courage and foreseeing to begin this task today that our children and our children's children may be proud of the name of man.

The spirit of man has awakened and the soul of men has gone forth. Grant us the wisdom and the vision to comprehend the greatness of man's spirit, that suffers and endures so hugely for a goal beyond his own brief span. Grant us honor for the dead who died in the faith, honor for our

¹ This prayer was inspired by the prayer appearing at the end of George Washington's "CIRCULAR TO THE STATES," June 8, 1783.

living who work and strive for the faith, redemption and security for all captive lands and peoples. Grant us patience with the deluded and pity for the betrayed. And grant us the skill and the valor that shall cleanse the world of oppression and the old base doctrine that the strong must eat the weak because they are strong.

Yet most of all grant us brotherhood, not only for this day but for all our years—a brotherhood not of words but of acts and deeds. We are all of us children of earth—grant us that simple knowledge. If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed. If they hunger, we hunger. If their freedom is taken away, our freedom is not secure. Grant us a common faith that man shall know bread and peace, that he shall know justice and righteousness, freedom and security, an equal chance to do his best, not only in our own lands, but throughout the world. And in that faith let us march toward the clean world our hands can make. Amen.

STEPHEN VINCENT BENET

(Read by President Roosevelt at United Nations Day Ceremony, White House, June 15, 1942. Copyright by STEPHEN VINCENT BENET. 1942. Reprinted by permission.)

Let us say this much to ourselves, not only with our lips but in our hearts.
Let us say this:

I myself am a part of democracy—I myself must accept responsibilities. Democracy is not merely a privilege to be enjoyed—it is a trust to keep and maintain * * * I am an American. I intend to remain an American. I will do my best to wipe from my heart hate, rancor, and political prejudice. I will sustain my government. And through good days or bad I will try to serve my country.

STEPHEN VINCENT BENET.

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THE AMERICAN'S CREED

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable, established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.

WILLIAM TYLER PAGE,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

(Accepted by the House on behalf of the American people, April 3, 1918.)

PLEDGE TO THE FLAG

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

Without reservation I give my undivided allegiance to the United States of America—

A government which is based upon, and responsible to, the will of the sovereign people: A Political Democracy.

A government which guarantees the protection of private property and the exercise of free enterprise in the realm of industry, finance, and labor: An Economic Democracy.

A government which calls for freedom from racial discrimination, class prejudice, and religious intolerance: A Social Democracy.

A government which encourages men to reach for the higher development of mind, body, and soul and to contribute by the fullness of their lives to an enriched civilization: A Spiritual Democracy.

RETTA MALONEY.

EPHEBIC OATH

"We will never bring disgrace to this our city, by any act of dishonesty or cowardice; we will fight for our ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many; we will revere and obey the city's laws and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in those about us; we will strive unceasingly to quicken the public's sense of civic duty; and thus in all these ways we will strive to transmit this city not only not less but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

(The word "country" may be substituted for the word "city.")

THE LAND WHERE HATE SHOULD DIE

This is the land where hate should die—

No feuds of faith, no spleen of race,

No darkly brooding fear should try

Beneath our flag to find a place.

Lo! every people here has sent

Its sons to answer freedom's call;

Their lifeblood is the strong cement

That builds and binds the nation's wall.

This is the land where hate should die—
 Tho dear to me my faith and shrine,
 I serve my country well when I
 Respect beliefs that are not mine.
 He little loves his land who'd cast
 Upon his neighbor's word a doubt,
 Or cite the wrongs of ages past
 From present rights to bar him out.

This is the land where hate should die—
 This is the land where strife should cease,
 Where foul, suspicious fear should fly
 Before our flag of light and peace.
 Then let us purge from poisoned thought
 That service to the State we give,
 And so be worthy as we ought
 Of this great Land in which we live!

DENIS A. McCARTHY.

(Reprinted by permission of Mrs. McCarthy. "I am pleased that you chose my husband's poem, *The Land Where Hate Should Die*. I hope that in the work of the Immigration and Naturalization Service this poem will carry on my husband's idea in writing it, for, a naturalized citizen himself, he realized how wonderful it was to be a citizen of the United States where men have a chance to make a better land than has ever existed before anywhere in the world.")

GOD GIVE US MEN

God give us men! A time like this demands
 Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands,
 Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
 Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
 Men who possess opinions and a will;
 Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
 Men who can stand before a demagogue
 And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
 Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
 In public duty and in private thinking;
 For while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds;
 Their large profession and their little deeds
 Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,
 Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps.

JOSIAH GILBERT HOLLAND (1819-1881).

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE AMERICAN?

What does it mean? I look across the years . . .
I see them come, but thru a mist of tears,
Our gallant forebears, full of hopes and fears.

I see them leave behind for conscience' sake,
The homes they loved, the ties so hard to break,
Their questing, wondering, westward way to take.

I see them face and fight the wilderness,
Undaunted by its dangers, its duress,
And from its wildness, wrest and win success.

I see them take their living from the soil,
The men and women joined in homely toil—
Where they then planted, now our heart-roots coil.

I see them build their homes, their house of prayer,
And when its bell rings out upon the air,
I see them kneel in simple worship there.

I hear the drums of war's alarum beat,
I see them seize their arms, rise to their feet
Their enemies—and liberty's—to meet.

I see them face and conquer every foe,
I see their cities rise, a nation grow,
To whose broad breast earth's eager pilgrims go.

To be American is to be one
In whom these brave inheritances run,
A worthy daughter, or a noble son.

ROSELLE MERCIER MONTGOMERY.

(Reprinted by permission.)

God created America, a land of hope and dreams.
He filled it with broad, rolling prairies, and sprinkled it with swift and flowing streams.
Tall mountains, vast forests, he placed here, and then from the ends of the earth—
He called people of all races,
Each bearing a gift of worth.

(Excerpt from program of Chisholm, Mass., evening school graduation exercises, March 1931.)

THE AMERICAN WAY

Hold high the flaming torch of freedom's holy light
 That sheds its gleaming rays thruout our native land;
 Undimmed it spreads afar—a thrilling, glorious sight—
 Triumphant still, its beams from out the darkness stand.

Ring out the bells that once proclaimed the nation's birth,
 Unmuffled let them strike the air in wild delight—
 Majestic peals that sound their clang throughout the earth—
 Ring out the bells of freedom thru the gloomy night.

Unfurl the flag—fling out that symbol of our pride,
 Its emblematic stars and stripes in triumph wave.
 The flag of freedom, bought by blood, will still abide
 While loyal hearts remember what our fathers gave.

Rise up in might—reject the soft and easy way;
 Our glorious heritage with might and main defend;
 Strike down the hand that would our liberty betray—
 For hard-won human rights must free men now contend.

O God of Right, make all our hearts to thrill anew
 With ardor for the way of life our fathers won.
 With passion for democracy our lives imbue,
 For Right makes Might—to this event the ages run.

CHARLES G. REIGNER.

MANY NATIONALITIES—MANY LANGUAGES—ONE COUNTRY

For America is not the magic scenery
 Washed by the sunrise and the sunset seas;
 No; or yet the prairies dark with herds,
 Or land—lakes of the western grain;
 Or yet wonder cities, white towered,
 Nor the peaks bursting with metals,
 Nor the smokey mills; America is you and I.

OPPENHEIM.

CHARTER OF LIBERTY

* * * Recall for a moment how that famous Charter expressed the great and fundamental American principles:

That all men are created equal * * *
 That they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights * * *

That among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness * * *
That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men,
deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

And you learn more of it when you studied the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, with their ringing declarations that "We the people" should rule this country, and that the rights, the liberties and the dignity of each of us were secure and inviolate even against any agency of government itself.

The point is that these great American principles and convictions apply to all our citizens. They Apply To You * * * and to your children. They are the enduring assurances of your opportunities, your freedoms, your protections—your responsibilities. Firmly they are woven into your life as a citizen. They safeguard you in every activity—in your choice of work, in your ownership of a home, in your form of worship, in your freedom to read and hear and discuss public matters, in your right to the protection of the courts, to the use of the schools, and to the fullest development of your own individual abilities. You, and Your Children.

RAYMOND PITCAIRN.

(Excerpts from TODAY WE ARE AMERICANS ALL. Copyright. 1942. Raymond Pitcairn.)

PRINCIPLES OF OUR GOVERNMENT

1. We have freedom and equality before the law. That means that every man may become what he wishes, that all people are born free and equal.
2. We have supremacy of the law, that is, this is a government in which the law is supreme and we must therefore be governed by it.
3. We know that the Constitution is a living document—that is one of the principles of the government. When it becomes necessary to make certain changes, those changes can be brought about in a lawful and orderly way.
4. The Constitution is a charter of human rights. If it were not for the Constitution there might be no freedom. For instance, a person might be put into jail without due process of law. While we have a constitutional government with its Bill of Rights, such a thing cannot happen.
5. We have religious freedom. That is basic and we can worship wherever we wish. We may embrace any form of religion or if we desire we may completely disavow religion. We have absolute freedom in the following of our own thinking.
6. We have freedom of speech and freedom of the press.
7. We have the right of peaceful assembly. There are many countries where meetings cannot take place at all and there are others where an assembly might take place provided every address would be presented for censorship in advance.
8. We have protection of individuals. That is, the privacy of one's home cannot be disturbed. Everyone is entitled to a fair and impartial trial.

A man's life cannot be threatened or taken without due process of law.

9. We do not bring a person to trial unless he is charged with some offense by another person who brings him into court.

10. We do not permit the property of an individual to be taken from him without due process of law.

(An examiner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service recently set down, in very simple English, these principles of our government.)

CREED OF AMERICANS

I am an American.

Recognizing the hospitality accorded my parents, the freedom granted them to improve their economic status and to live the better life;

Recognizing the privilege of my birth on American soil;

Recognizing that this privilege has given me opportunities of free education, the freedom to choose my occupation, independence of religious belief, and the right to independence of thought and action; and

Recognizing that my country faces the peril of losing for me and all other Americans these precious liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights—

I pledge anew my loyalty to the United States, and my faith in its ideals and institutions.

I am ready to die for my country, if necessary, to perpetuate that for which it stands.

I am ready, likewise, to live for my country in any capacity of service I may be called upon to render.

I will accept without bitterness or rancor the misunderstandings and incidents which have their origin in the emotionalism of war.

I will cherish, always, the Stars and Stripes as symbolic of all that I wish to believe, all that I wish to be.

I am an American!

(Drawn up by a group of Americans of Japanese ancestry as an expression of their attitudes and those of their fellows, and offered with the hope that it will serve as a source of courage and guidance in the critical days ahead, and issued in honor of "I Am An American Day." Hawaii. 1942.)

I AM AN AMERICAN

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES

I may think as I please.

I may speak or write as I please, so long as I do not interfere with the rights of others.

I have the right to vote. By my vote I choose the public officers who are really my servants.

I have the right to choose my work, to seek any job for which my experience and ability have fitted me.

I have the right to try to improve my lot through various means.

I have the right to a prompt trial by jury, if I should be accused of a crime.

I may seek justice in the courts where I have equal rights with others.

I have the privilege of sharing in the benefits of many of the natural resources of my country.

I may educate my children in free schools.

I have the right to worship as I think best.

I have the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

DUTIES

It is my duty to obey my country's laws.

It is my duty to vote, so my government may truly represent the will of the people.

It is my duty to keep informed as to the honesty and ability of candidates for public office.

It is my duty, by my vote and my influence, to correct injustice.

It is my duty to pay such taxes as have been devised by representatives elected by me, to defray the cost of government.

It is my duty to serve on juries when called on.

It may sometimes become my duty to hold a public office for which I am suited, so my government may function efficiently.

It is my duty to defend my country, if need should arise.

It is my duty to abide by the will of the majority, to stand behind my government, so my nation may be unified in time of crisis.

FRANCES CAVANAH and LLOYD E. SMITH.

(Whitman Publishing Co. Copyright. 1942. Racine, Wis.)

IMMIGRANT AMERICA

Each of the twoscore contributions is stirring, but space prevents inclusion of more than the following typical ones:

I AM THE ENGLAND

In this man, this woman—

A bright star in the morning sun

To the millions of mine who crossed an ocean

And a half continent westward.

And I am content—

Yet, lest a star grow too dim,

Being far away, and the sun near,

These things I remind you—

I gave the nucleus of a race,

A language, and 800 years tradition

Into the keeping of an American wilderness—

And you speak my tongue still

And you keep my traditions
And the strong stock of me:
Pilgrims, planters, freebooters
Is in the heart of you.
And the stout men that sired you
Were Englishmen:
Adams, Hancock, Hale, Williams.
How shall you forget them?
Your rivers, mountains, States,
And your proudest cities wear English names,
And the rock at the core
Of your beloved democracy
Is the unbending will of English yeomen to be free.
How shall you forget these things?

I AM THE GREAT HEART OF GERMANY

In the American West,
Whose blood numbers the fourth part
Of the American strain,
Who gave you exact sciences,
And taught precision to your minds;
Who gave the best part of her men of genius:
Mann, Reinhardt, Roebling.
And I am content.
Yet, lest the gifts of me be forgotten,
These things I remind you:
It was my Von Steuben who trained
Those ragged armies
That turned back imperial Britain
And made a nation beyond the Atlantic,
And brothers to him came quietly to the freed soil
And made it yield.
And I have given you Damrosch and Lehmann,
To sweeten your ears—
Steinmetz, Einstein
To enrich your laboratories.
And these are not a thousandth part.
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE FRANCE

In these Americans,
A shaft of brilliant color
In the noon sun,
Mother of grace, mother of elegance.

How shall you forget me,
 Whose foreign money, arms, soldiery,
 The visionary Lafayette, and a hundred tall ships
 Fought for your first cause?
 I gave you polish and the infinite refinement
 Of five hundred years' achievement in the arts,
 And you accepted them: the opera,
 Drama, high poetry, the memorial carved stone of St. Gaudens,
 The rare quick genius of Audubon,
 And the royal vision of Louis Sullivan
 Who gave you an architecture of your own.
 We are bound as strongly as the knit stones
 In the "Liberty" that stands
 In New York harbor.
 Our armies have stood shoulder to shoulder,
 And our men of peace, arm in arm.
 How shall you forget me?

I AM THE ITALY

In these Americas,
 A whisper merely of mellow Rome
 In the eager West.
 Yet how shall you forget me?
 Who gave you law and the procedure of law;
 Who cradled Christ in the lean and bitter years
 Of the beginnings;
 Who brought the brilliance of Renaissance
 To all the progenitors of America.
 A man of mine planted the first banners
 Of the white race on your shores
 And another gave his name to half the world,
 Columbus and Amerigo, and you honor them still—
 Sons of me have built your roads,
 Your tall buildings, dug your sewers and tunnels,
 Rome has always been a builder.
 And I gave you song, and singers to warm you,
 Campanini, Da Ponte, Bertelatti—
 How shall you forget these things?

I AM THE SLAV IN THESE AMERICAS

The Jugo-Slav, the Slovak,
 The endlessly unbowed,
 That gave the west continent
 The proudest and the best of my

Broad backs and eager youth.
How shall you forget me
That gave Tesla, Pupin,
Into your sciences;
Dvorak into your own music,
And Hofmann and Stokowski.
Ask the coal you burn, who mined it,
The gasoline, what worker wrung it from the earth,
The bridge, what man bound its steel together—
And every third answer will be “a Slav.”
I made you rugs to walk on,
And Slavic craftsmen fill your houses,
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE GREECE

A deep and antique voice
In the symphonic noise of America.
I am Hellas,
Inventor of democracy,
Mother of philosophy,
Source of your sources in music,
Poetry, sculpture, drama,
And the endless sciences of inquiring minds.
Who will gainsay me—
Who will not remember and acknowledge me?
Yet, even so, these things I remind you—
Feryada, the Greek, came westward
With De Soto and settled in the South,
And latterly I have sent:
Anagnos to your systems of education,
Callimahos to your rosters of musicians,
And Ladas to your interpreters of law.
How shall you pass them by?
The fertile places in California, Arizona, Oregon,
Attest me.
The sweets your children buy with pennies
And the vending of foods attest me.
I am endless Greece, the sage and the humble.
How shall you forget me?

I AM THE DENMARK

In these Americas,
Half a million of me
Moved westward from the North Sea
And diffused over half a continent.

How shall I be forgotten?
 The lush dairylands of Minnesota,
 Illinois, Oregon, Wisconsin
 Attest me.
 The fields of the Dakotas, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado
 Attest me.
 I gave you the best of a strong
 And patient race.
 How shall I be forgotten?
 I sent you Riis,
 The slum clearer, reformer, the crusader;
 Borglum the carver of mountains;
 Hansen, Jensen, inventors for the soil.
 I sent the ablest of my people,
 How shall you forget me?

I AM THE FINLAND

In this America
 The northernmost of the north countries
 An echo of the crackle of ice underfoot,
 A memory of stern living and a frugal people
 How shall you forget me,
 The payer-ofdebts?
 The Nation's lumber yards justify me,
 The iron mines of Minnesota,
 The farm lands by the northern border
 Attest me.
 I gave Sibelius to the world,
 And Saarinin to America.
 I sent you the tallest of my sons
 And the tallest of my daughters.
 You shall not forget me.

(A narrative poem by the Utah Federal Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, called "Immigrant America.")

THE CODE OF THE GOOD AMERICAN

Citizens who are good Americans try to become strong and useful, worthy of their nation, that our country may become ever greater and better. Therefore, they obey the laws of right living which the best Americans have always obeyed.

(1) *The Law of Self-control:*

The Good American Controls Himself. Those who best control themselves can best serve their country.

I will control my tongue, and will not allow it to speak mean, vulgar, or profane words.

I will control my temper, and will not get angry when people or things displease me.

I will control my thoughts, and will not allow a foolish wish to spoil a wise purpose.

I will control my actions.

I will not ridicule or defile the character of another; I will keep my self-respect, and help others to keep theirs.

(2) *The Law of Good Health:*

The Good American Tries to Gain and Keep Good Health.

The welfare of our country depends upon those who are physically fit for their daily work. Therefore:

I will try to take such food, sleep, and exercise as will keep me always in good health.

I will keep my clothes, my body, and my mind clean.

I will avoid those habits which would harm me, and will make and never break those habits which will help me.

I will protect the health of others, and guard their safety as well as my own.

I will grow strong.

(3) *The Law of Kindness:*

The Good American Is Kind. In America those who are different must live in the same communities. We are of many different sorts, but we are one great people. Every unkindness hurts the common life; every kindness helps. Therefore:

I will be kind in all my thoughts. I will bear no spites or grudges. I will never despise anybody.

I will be kind in all my speech. I will never gossip nor will I speak unkindly of anyone. Words may wound or heal.

I will be kind in my acts. I will not selfishly insist on having my own way. I will be polite: rude people are not good Americans. I will not make unnecessary trouble for those who work for me, or forget to be grateful. I will be careful of other people's things. I will do my best to prevent cruelty, and will give help to those in need.

(4) *The Law of Sportsmanship:*

The Good American Plays Fair. Clean play increases and trains one's strength and courage, and helps one to be more useful to one's country. Sportsmanship helps one to be a gentleman, a lady. Therefore:

I will not cheat, nor will I play for keeps or for money. If I should not play fair, the loser would lose the fun of the game, the winner would lose his self-respect, and the game itself would become a mean and often cruel business.

I will treat my opponents with courtesy, and trust them if they deserve it.
I will be friendly.

If I play in a group game, I will play not for my own glory, but for the success of my team and the fun of the game.

I will be a good loser or a generous winner.

And in my work as well as in my play, I will be sportsmanlike, fair, honorable.

(5) *The Law of Self-reliance:*

The Good American Is Self-reliant. Self-conceit is silly, but self-reliance is necessary to citizens who would be strong and useful.

I will gladly listen to the advice of older and wiser people; I will reverence the wishes of those who love and care for me, and who know life and me better than I. But I will develop independence and wisdom to think for myself, choose for myself, act for myself, according to what seems right and fair and wise.

I will not be afraid of being laughed at when I am right. I will not be afraid of doing right when the crowd does wrong.

When in danger, trouble, or pain, I will be brave. A coward does not make a good American.

(6) *The Law of Duty:*

The Good American Does His Duty. The shirker and the willing idler live upon others, and burden unfairly their fellow-citizens with work. They do not do their share for their country's good.

I will try to find out what my duty is as a good American, and my duty I will do, whether it is easy or hard. What it is my duty to do I can do.

(7) *The Law of Reliability:*

The Good American Is Reliable. Our country grows great and good as her citizens are able more fully to trust each other. Therefore:

I will be honest, in word and in act. I will not lie, sneak, or pretend.

I will not do wrong in the hope of not being found out. I cannot hide the truth from myself and cannot often hide it from others.

I will not take without permission what does not belong to me. A thief is a menace to me and others.

I will do promptly what I have promised to do. If I have made a foolish promise, I will at once confess my mistake, and I will try to make good any harm which my mistake may have caused. I will so speak and act that people will find it easier to trust each other.

(8) *The Law of Good Workmanship:*

The Good American Tries To Do the Right Thing in the Right Way. The welfare of our country depends upon those who have learned to do in the right way the work that makes civilization possible. Therefore:

I will get the best possible education, and learn all that I can as a preparation for the time when I am grown up and at my life work. I will invent and make things better if I can.

I will take real interest in work, and will not be satisfied to do slipshod, lazy, and merely passable work. I will form the habit of good work and keep alert; mistakes and blunders cause hardships, sometimes disaster, and spoil success.

I will make the right thing in the right way to give it value and beauty, even when no one else sees or praises me. But when I have done my best, I will not envy those who have done better, or have received larger reward. Envy spoils the work and the worker.

(9) *The Law of Teamwork:*

The Good American Works in Friendly Cooperation with Fellow-Workers. One alone could not build a city or a great railroad. One alone would find it hard to build a bridge. That I may have bread, people have made plows and threshers, have built mills and mined coal, made stoves and kept stores. As we learn better how to work together, the welfare of our country is advanced.

In whatever work I do with others, I will do my part and encourage others to do their part.

I will help to keep in order the things which we use in our work. When things are out of place, they are often in the way, and sometimes they are hard to find.

In all my work with others, I will be cheerful. Cheerlessness depresses all the workers and injures all the work.

When I have received money for my work, I will be neither a miser nor a spendthrift. I will save or spend as one of the friendly workers of America.

(10) *The Law of Loyalty:*

The Good American Is Loyal. If our America is to become ever greater and better, her citizens must be loyal, devotedly faithful, in every relation of life.

I will be loyal to my family. In loyalty I will gladly obey my parents or those who are in their place, and show them gratitude. I will do my best to help each member of my family to strength and usefulness.

I will be loyal to my school. In loyalty I will obey and help other pupils to obey those rules which further the good of all.

I will be loyal to my town, my state, my country. In loyalty I will respect and help others to respect their laws and their courts of justice.

I will be loyal to humanity and civilization. In loyalty I will do my best to help the friendly relations of our country with every other country, and to give to everyone in every land the best possible chance.

If I try simply to be loyal to my family, I may be disloyal to my school. If I try simply to be loyal to my school, I may be disloyal to my town, my state, and my country. If I try simply to be loyal to my town, state, and country, I may be disloyal to humanity. I will try above all things else to be loyal to humanity; then I shall surely be loyal to my country, my state, and my town, to my school and to my family. And this loyalty to humanity will keep me faithful to civilization.

He who obeys the law of loyalty obeys all of the other nine laws of the Good American.

WILLIAM J. HUTCHINS.

(The original Code of the Good American, prepared for boys and girls, was awarded first place and a prize of \$5,000 in a national competition conducted in 1916 by the Character Education Institution of Washington, D. C. This revision was made by Joy Elmer Morgan for young men and women and for naturalized citizens.)

Quotations on the

Meaning of the Flag

HISTORY OF THE FLAG

(Prepared by the National Americanism Commission, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Ind.)

The United States Flag is the third oldest of the national standards of the world; older than the Union Jack of Britain or the Tricolor of France.

The Flag was first authorized by Congress June 14, 1777. This date is now observed as Flag Day throughout America.

The Flag was first flown from Fort Stanwix, on the site of the present city of Rome, N. Y., on August 3, 1777. It was first under fire 3 days later in the Battle of Oriskany, August 6, 1777.

It was first decreed that there should be a star and a stripe for each State, making 13 of both, for the States at that time had just been erected from the original 13 colonies.

The colors of the Flag may be thus explained: The red is for valor, zeal, and fervency; the white for hope, purity, cleanliness of life, and rectitude of conduct; the blue, the color of heaven, for reverence to God, loyalty, sincerity, justice, and truth.

The star (an ancient symbol of India, Persia, and Egypt) symbolizes dominion and sovereignty, as well as lofty aspirations. The constellation of the stars within the union, one star for each State, is emblematic of our Federal Constitution, which reserves to the States their individual sovereignty except as to rights delegated by them to the Federal Government.

The symbolism of the Flag was thus interpreted by Washington: "We take the stars from Heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing Liberty."

In 1794, Vermont and Kentucky were admitted to the Union and the number of stars and of stripes was raised to 15 in correspondence. As other States came into the Union it became evident there would be too many stripes. So in 1818 Congress enacted that the number of stripes be reduced and restricted henceforth to 13, representing the 13 original States; while a star should be added for each succeeding State. That law is the law of today.

The name "Old Glory" was given to our National Flag August 10, 1831, by Captain William Driver of the brig *Charles Doggett*.

The Flag was first carried in battle at the Brandywine, September 11, 1777. It first flew over foreign territory January 28, 1778, at Nassau, Bahama Islands; Fort Nassau having been captured by the Americans in the course of the War for Independence. The first foreign salute to the Flag was rendered by the French Admiral LaMotte Piquet, off Quiberon Bay, February 13, 1778.

The United States Flag is unique in the deep and noble significance of its message to the entire world, a message of national independence, of individual liberty, of idealism, of patriotism.

It symbolizes national independence and popular sovereignty. It is not the Flag of a reigning family or royal house, but of a hundred million free people welded into a Nation, one and inseparable, united not only by community of interest, but by vital unity of sentiment and purpose; a Nation distinguished for the clear individual conception of its citizens alike of their duties and their privileges, their obligations and their rights.

It incarnates for all mankind the spirit of Liberty and the glorious ideal of human Freedom; not the freedom of unrestraint or the liberty of license, but an unique ideal of equal opportunity for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, safeguarded by the stern and lofty principles of duty, of righteousness and of justice, and attainable by obedience to self-imposed laws.

Floating from the lofty pinnacle of American idealism, it is a beacon of enduring hope, like the famous Bartholdi Statute of Liberty, enlightening the world to the oppressed of all lands. It floats over a wonderous assemblage of people from every racial stock of the earth whose united hearts constitute an indivisible and invincible force for the defense and succor of the downtrodden.

It embodies the essence of patriotism. Its spirit is the spirit of the American Nation. Its history is the history of the American people. Embazoned upon its folds in letters of living light are the names and fame of our heroic dead, the Fathers of the Republic who devoted upon its altars their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Twice told tales of National honor and glory cluster thickly about it. Ever victorious, it has emerged triumphant from eight great National conflicts. It flew at Saratoga, at Yorktown, at Palo Alto, at Gettysburg, at Manila Bay, at Chateau-Thierry. It bears witness to the immense expansion of our national boundaries, the development of our natural resources, and the splendid structure of our civilization. It prophesies the triumph of popular government, of civic and religious liberty, and of national righteousness throughout the world.

The Flag first rose over 13 States along the Atlantic seaboard, with a population of some three million people. Today it flies over 48 States, extending across the continent, and over great islands of the two oceans; and one hundred thirty millions owe it allegiance. It has been brought to

this proud position by love and sacrifice. Citizens have advanced it and heroes have died for it. It is the sign made visible of the strong spirit that has brought liberty and prosperity to the people of America. It is the flag of all of us alike. Let us accord it honor and loyalty.

THE FLAG SPEAKS

I am whatever you make me—nothing more. But always I am all that you hope to be and have the courage to try for. I am song and fear, struggle and panic and ennobling hope. I am the day's work of the weakest man, and the largest dream of the most daring. I am the Constitution and the courts, statutes, and statute makers, soldier and dreadnaught, drayman and street sweep, cook, counselor, and clerk. I am no more than what you believe me to be. My stars and my stripes are your dreams and your labors. For you are the makers of the flag, and it is well that you glory in the making.

FRANKLIN K. LANE.

(Excerpt from address. Flag Day. 1914.)

THE FLAG—THE NATION

A thoughtful mind, when it sees a Nation's flag, sees not the flag only, but the Nation itself; and * * * he reads chiefly in the flag the Government, the principles, the truths, the history which belongs to the Nation that set it forth.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Quotations on Americanism

THINGS THAT MAKE AMERICA GREAT

It is a government which holds that government is made for man and not man for the government, that government is the servant of the people and not the master.

It is a government in which the original and final authority resides in the people.

It is a government based upon the principle that its first duty is to protect the life, liberty, and happiness of the people.

It is a government of law and order, providing for liberty under the law.

It is a government which guarantees to all persons the civil liberties and rights accorded to any one person.

It is a government of officials chosen by the people—a government by representatives—a republic rather than a pure democracy.

It is a government in which office is not the special privilege of any hereditary class.

It is a government by the majority—a majority held in restraint by constitutional checks, in order that the rights of minorities may be safeguarded.

It is a government in which the minority has the right to criticize and agitate for peaceful change. It is one in which the minority may grow into the majority.

It is a government based upon the idea that the secret ballot is a better way than bullets to bring about changes. The way to correct the mistakes of one election is through ballots at succeeding elections.

It is a government which weighs all votes equally, through free and fair elections.

It is a government of limited powers, the people reserving the right to increase or decrease those powers.

It is a government of divided authority and responsibility—divided between the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary and between the national, State, and local governments.

It is a government fundamentally different in principle and operation from totalitarian and dictatorial governments. It is a government by debate and agreement rather than by arbitrary decree. It rests more on reason than on force.

It is a government concerned with the establishment of justice, the promotion of the general welfare, the right of private property, and the social provision for security, freedom, and opportunity for all.

It is a government which provides the means for its own modification and growth.

It is a government which, more than any other form, requires for its most effective operation the assumption by every citizen of his fair share of responsibility. Democracy requires individual morality, common sense, and courage in its citizens.

HOWARD E. WILSON, NELLE E. BOWMAN, ALLEN Y. KING.

(Excerpt from THIS AMERICA—OUR LAND, OUR PEOPLE, OUR FAITH, OUR DEFENSE. American Book Co. New York. 1942.)

THANK GOD, I'M AN AMERICAN!

All of us should turn our thoughts occasionally to that adventurous group of our ancestors who set aside a day each year for Thanksgiving. Anyone who has stood on the windswept coast at Plymouth where the hard black granite of New England yields as slowly to the hoe and the plow as it does to the restless beating of a tireless sea, can well wonder what the Pilgrims had to be thankful for. On the one side, it was only an arrow's flight to a wilderness filled with savages. On the other, it was three months' sailing to the comforts of civilization. There was hunger to the point of starvation. Yet the humble survivors of both knelt and fervently thanked God. For what? Not for well-filled cupboards and bursting granaries. But for the courage to face temporary adversity, for confidence in the future, for faith in ultimate achievement of the ideals that led them to the New World.

The remembrance of those ragged, hungry colonists devoutly expressing gratitude because their lives had been spared toward the achievement of a bright vision, ought to bring shame to the hearts of present day prophets of gloom. There is no doubt that many of us labor today under a yoke of hardship. There is unemployment and injustice and crime and intolerance and bitter disappointment and even hunger in America. The ravages of war abroad have shaken our hopes. Frustrated by these misfortunes some are ready to curse God and let the vision die. They clamor for a "new order," for a new migration to uncharted political shores—to start all over again toward human happiness and freedom under the guidance of ideals radically different from those which inspired our forefathers. Those who take such counsel of despair would do well to count those blessings already achieved by the American way, and, without relaxing efforts to wipe out the causes of misery and suffering which still oppress us, to hold fast to what has already been gained.

AMERICAN IDEALS OF EQUALITY

We have many real advantages for which to be thankful. I thank God I was not born into a caste system that places one human being either above

or below any of his fellows. I inherited no aristocratic rank of duke or lord that entitles me to special privilege of any sort; nor was I doomed to serfdom or peasantry by the accident of birth. It was one of the first concepts of American government "that all men are created equal." There may be some in this country who have assumed special privilege, but their right to it may be challenged at any time by anybody.

FREE SCHOOLS MEAN FREE PEOPLE

I thank God for the American schools that made available to me a share in the intellectual and cultural heritage of mankind. Education has checked and will eventually defeat tyranny wherever it manifests itself in this land. Free schools are the only guarantee of a free people; they are the only means whereby every individual may prepare himself for whatever achievement and service he is capable. Adequate educational opportunity is now denied millions of youth, it is true, but a fair start in life for every child is an American ideal toward which we have been steadily moving for a century. All the forces of greed and special interest will not prevent the full attainment of this ideal.

FREEDOM OF OCCUPATION

I thank God for American freedom to earn a living in a job I myself selected. No social traditions dictated that I should follow the occupation of my father. No agency of the state told me where or at what I must labor. The option was wholly my own, and I was given abundant opportunity to prepare for the profession of my choice. All of us are aware of the fact that the machine, in combination with economic factors, prevents millions of workmen today from practicing vocations for which they have trained themselves. Yet who can doubt that the inventive genius which created the machine is able to adjust the earnings of human livelihood to its use? Who has reason to believe that the same genius cannot or will not perfect an economic system in which honest toil may win its share of a material abundance that exceeds anything the world has ever known?

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ASSEMBLY, AND PRESS

I thank God for American rights—for the right to think; to speak; to write and to print what I think; for the right of peaceable assembly to discuss with my fellows the way out of difficulties which harass me as an individual or beset us collectively as a people; for the right to protest and to petition those in authority for the removal of grievances and of obstacles to the happiness and welfare of my family and my neighbors; for the right to subscribe to any creed in which I believe and to worship as seems to me most fitting. I am grateful for the right to uncover truth and to proclaim it, even at the discomfiture of entrenched privilege or in opposition to stoutly defended party doctrine. I am glad to have these rights guaranteed to me in the most sacred instrument of our government—the fundamental

law of the land—so they cannot be taken from me by pretext or annulled at the will of some dictator. I count it one of the greatest of blessings that I can exercise these rights without fear of secret police, concentration camps, or exile from my country. I can rest assured that my every act is not under suspicion. There are no spies to tap my telephone wires, to see that my radio is not tuned to forbidden wave lengths, or that I read only the literature which has been approved and prescribed for me by those who consider themselves my betters.

NATIONAL IDEALS

I am proud to live in a land that recognizes no discrimination on account of race or color or political antecedents, and supports no pretense that a certain shade of hair or eyes betokens a superman before whom less favored individuals should bend the knee. I count it good fortune to live under a government that exists for me and my fellow citizens, where no one considers that my only reason for living is to serve a monster called a “totalitarian state.”

I thank God that the Stars and Stripes is not a mere battle flag symbolizing military conquest over other nations, but that it signifies every kind of worthy achievement for which men strive. That bright banner unites us in common endeavor against misery and poverty, ignorance and vice, disease and suffering. Our nation’s heroes include not only its great soldiers, but its great statesmen, its scientists and teachers, its artists and craftsmen, its poets and preachers and philosophers who have served humanity in its great crises, whether of bread or of the spirit. The millions of children in the nation’s classrooms who turn their happy faces toward the flag every morning pledge allegiance to the law and order, to the personal integrity, and to the unselfish service of humanity for which that banner stands.

AMERICANISM AS A WAY OF LIFE

I thank God that my country is not seeking “a place in the sun”; that it has no imperialistic ambitions; that its boast and pride are not the defeat of other nations or the assimilation of other peoples for its own glory; that it has no “balance of power” to maintain, no buffer states to create, and no protectorates over which to stand guard. We have no duty, real or pretended, to rescue from the clutches of a foreign country our own nationals who for any reason found it more desirable to associate with our neighbors than with ourselves. There are no Americans to bring back to America. There is no lost territory to regain and no desire to enhance our flag by giving it more soil over which to wave. The mystic slogan “blood and soil” seems absurd to us. The essence of Americanism is not territory. It is a way of life. Plains and mountains and valleys are only necessary incidents to its existence. Someone has ventured to suggest that if the American people could by some magic be transferred in a body to

some new continent, that new continent would be America; for the essentials of Americanism are in the hearts and minds of the people.

HUMAN RIGHTS STILL SACRED

And so, I thank God I'm an American. All may not be right with America. There is still with us some of the social injustice and pestilence to the removal of which we dedicated ourselves as a young nation. But the fundamental human rights which are the essence of Americanism are still held sacred by our people and by our responsible leaders. We have all—and much more than the Pilgrim fathers expected to secure for their posterity in the New World. And as we memorialize their first Thanksgiving, so devoutly offered because they had escaped the religious bigotry and international jealousies of the Old World, every one of us can say with even more meaning and fervor than the Pilgrims said, "Thank God, I'm an American."

WILLARD E. GIVENS.

(THANK GOD, I'M AN AMERICAN. The American Citizens Handbook. 1941. Washington, D. C.)

AMERICANISM

Americanism is an abiding faith in the correctness and justice of the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights.

Americanism is a way of life based on this abiding faith. It is a willingness to live in peace and harmony with our fellow men regardless of political or religious faiths.

Americanism is a willingness to apply the principles of free speech, free press and the freedom to worship God to our fellow man even when their ideas and speech and methods of worship are opposed to our own.

Americanism is a willingness to live for the principles of America in peacetime as well as a willingness to die for American principles in wartime.

Americanism brings to each American, liberty under law and a regard for law, which means liberty and happiness for all.

K. L. BROWN.

(A winning essay written in 1939 on Americanism in the Elk's National Patriotism program, Youngstown, Ohio.)

* * * Let every man honor and love the land of his birth and the race from which he springs and keep their memory green. It is a pious and honorable duty but let us have done with British-Americans and Irish-Americans and German-Americans and all be Americans—nothing more and nothing less. If a man is going to be an American at all, let him be so

without any qualifying adjectives, and if he is going to be something else, let him drop the word "American" from his personal description.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

America is another name for Opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race.

EMERSON.

GRADUATION

Some of us saw one graduation that we shall never forget. In many ways it was just like any other commencement. The friends and relatives of the class packed the auditorium. A thousand neatly rolled diplomas were distributed to the graduates. We sang "America, The Beautiful." There were several speeches. The day was appropriately hot. There was nothing unusual in any of this. It was the graduates who were different.

They marched in to music with eager hopeful faces. Men and women, young and old and middle-age; blond heads, dark heads, bald and gray heads; scholars and scrub women, laborers and lawyers; shirt sleeves, suspenders, dark and light coats, gingham marching side by side with silk, every possible kind of a hat; lowbrows, highbrows; white and black, Nordic, Slavic, and Oriental faces; fifty-nine nationalities; one man of seventy-eight and one great-great-grandmother, a frail little woman almost bent double; a mother, father, and son in the same graduating class.

The great majority were newcomers to America.

The melting pot. To it comes a people of many nations, rich and poor, the oppressed and the free, marching toward a common goal * * * America's great melting pot, brewing a mixture of independence and patriotism that is the very lifeblood of our United States * * * Into the melting pot! * * * and to emerge—Americans.

Into the melting pot has gone many people and out of it come unity and strength, common beliefs in our flag and our union forever—the flag that bears a star for every State and a State for every star. Our people! Our Nation! And our flag! And representing our land.

HELEN CODY BAKER.

Chicago Daily News, July 8, 1939.

THE ONCE OVER

I-AM-AN-AMERICAN DAY

("The President has proclaimed May 17 as I-Am-an-American Day."—News item.)

May 17 must not be just another holiday.

It must not dawn and pass as another day marked by no more enthusiasms for democracy than we knew in the lush decades, when life and food and comfort and pleasures were all accepted as routine.

"I-Am-an-American Day" shall be no casual occasion; no idle gesture; no offspring of a routine proclamation.

It shall be a day of gratitude, a day of self-analysis, a day of service.

Its dawn shall kindle new fires within us.

In its high noon shall we feel the warming glow of higher purposes; and in its setting sun shall we see a consecration to our country.

It shall be a day when the casual shall wither away, and the fresh, strong growth of a consuming love of America shall seem unquenchable.

The third Sunday in May shall not be merely a date on a calendar but rather a taper touched to a candle, a spark lighting a beacon, a star flashing through a break in a clouded sky.

It shall not be a day of casual salutes, of light-hearted hat raisings but a day of thanksgiving, solemn devotions and resolute purposes.

On this day in every city, town, village, and hamlet in America must the people of these United States see the true goals, sense the true values and again follow a fixed star.

On this day shall they see the true shape of things, comprehend the complete picture that is American and no more be satisfied with halfway impressions, hasty appraisals, and selfish standards.

May 17 shall mark an end to the acceptance of priceless privileges as mere requirements, demanded and obtained without effort or appreciation.

It shall be the beginning of an era when this democracy shall stir our souls, when "this freedom" shall seem a precious boon—and when our duty to serve it, slave for it, fight for it, and even die for it may seem a high privilege.

This shall be a day when citizenship shall seem the glowing blessing that it is, when it shall seem to me everything that it seemed through the long years to the persecuted immigrant beholding the Statue of Liberty for the first time.

It shall be a day when there shall be new magic in the music of the National Anthem, and when the passages: "By the dawn's early light" . . . "O'er the ramparts we watched" . . . and "Proof through the night that our flag was still there" . . . shall stir us as they stirred us in boyhood.

It shall be a day when we shall understand how shallow our Americanism has been in the soft days, and how superficial our patriotism in the era of free wheeling, button pressing, switch throwing, and microphone adjustings.

May 17 shall be a great day, the day when we shall be able to look into the eyes of Stuart's Washington without shame and stand before the majestic figure of Lincoln without feeling that we have betrayed a trust.

It shall be a rededication to love of country, that "government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

H. I. PHILLIPS.

New York, April 27, 1942.

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WHAT I OWE TO AMERICA

I owe to her the most priceless gift that any nation can offer and that is opportunity.

* * * It may be that the foreign born, as in my own case, must hold on to some of the ideals and ideas of the land of his birth, it may be that he must develop and mould his character by overcoming the habits resulting from national shortcomings. But into the best that the foreign-born can retain, America can graft such a wealth of inspiration, so high a national idealism, so great an opportunity for the highest endeavor, as to make him the fortunate man of the earth today.

He can go where he will; no traditions hamper him; no limitations are set except those within himself. The larger the area he chooses in which to work, the larger the vision he demonstrates, the more eager the people are to give support to his undertakings if they are convinced that he has their best welfare as his goal. * * *

A man in America cannot complacently lean back upon victories won, as he can in the older European countries, and depend upon the glamour of the past to sustain him or the momentum of success to carry him. Probably the most alert public in the world, it requires of its leaders that they be alert. Its appetite for variety is insatiable, but its appreciation, when given, is full-handed and whole-hearted. The American public never holds back from the man to whom it gives; it never bestows in a niggardly way; it gives all or nothing.

What is not generally understood of the American people is their wonderful idealism. Nothing so completely surprises the foreign-born as the discovery of this trait in the American character. * * *

I do not claim that the American is always conscious of this idealism; often he is not. But let a great convulsion touching moral questions occur, and the result always shows how close to the surface is his idealism. And the fact that so frequently he puts over it a thick veneer of materialism does not affect its quality. The truest approach, the only approach in fact, to the American character is, as Sir James Bryce has so well said, through its idealism.

It is this quality which gives the truest inspiration to the foreign-born in his endeavor to serve the people of his adopted country. He is mentally sluggish, indeed, who does not discover that America will make good with him if he makes good with her.

But he must play fair. It is essentially the straight game that the true American plays, and he insists that you shall play it, too. * * * In no other country in the world is the moral conception so clear and true as in America, and no people will give a larger and more permanent reward to the man whose effort for that public has its roots in honor and truth.

"The sky is the limit" to the foreign-born who comes to America endowed with honest endeavor, ceaseless industry, and the ability to carry through.

In any honest endeavor, the way is wide open to the will to succeed. Every path beckons, every vista invites, every talent is called forth, and every efficient effort finds its due reward. In no land is the way so clear and so free.

* * * I wonder whether, after all, the foreign-born does not make in some sense a better American—whether he is not able to get a truer perspective; whether his is not the deeper desire to see America greater; whether he is not less content to let its faulty institutions be as they are; whether in seeing faults more clearly he does not make a more decided effort to have America reach those ideals or those fundamentals of his own land which he feels are in his nature, and the best of which he is anxious to graft into the character of his adopted land? * * *

EDWARD BOK.

(THE AMERICANIZATION OF EDWARD BOK. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 1924.)

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

(From The Bunker Hill Oration, 1825.)

INALIENABLE RIGHTS

ALL we have of freedom,
All we use and know
This our fathers bought
For us, long and long ago.

Ancient rights unnoticed
As the breath we draw
Leave to live by no man's leave
Underneath the law.

The King, by RUDYARD KIPLING.

WHAT AMERICA EXPECTS

Out of her abundant resources, out of her profound belief in the worth and dignity of every man, America offers you much. She offers freedom and opportunity, and a full share in all the rights and privileges of self-government. To every citizen she extends the assurance that if he wills it, if he has the courage, the enterprise and the faith, then both materially and spiritually his life can be gloriously fulfilled. . . .

What does America ask in return:

America expects Personal Character. America is not a separate entity, apart and distinct from its people. America is the people. America is All-of-Us, incorporated. Therefore, whether America is strong or weak, virtuous or mean, valiant or faltering, depends upon the character of the citizens who compose it. As our collective lives are lived, so is the life of the nation molded. Nothing, then, is worthy of a citizen that is not worthy of America.

America expects a Sense of Values. It expects you to value duty above privileges; to value truth above mere phrases; to value wisdom above cleverness; to value quality above quantity; to value tolerance above any racial or religious prejudice. In every way it expects you to value spirit over matter.

America expects Unity. It expects you to think and act in terms of the whole nation, and not of any one state or section; of the whole people and not of groups or creeds or classes. It expects you to know that America is greater than any of its parts, and that the flag is the emblem of our unity as well as of our glory.

America expects Knowledge—knowledge of our history, knowledge of our literature, knowledge of our ideals. And it expects you to realize that no one can gain this knowledge thoroughly, no one can call himself a real American, unless he speaks and reads and thinks in the language of Americans—which is English. It expects you to learn our language thoroughly, and to value it above all others.

America expects Faith—faith in its form of government and faith in your own capacity to be part of that government. When America gives you the vote it expects you to use it as a self-reliant American. The so-called “Irish-American” vote, “German-American” vote, “Italian-American” vote, or other hyphenated votes, are not American votes at all. They are alien votes. Whatever his birthplace, the candidate who appeals for votes on such a basis is no true citizen. And whatever his origin, the candidate who seeks to weaken or tear down the American form of government is no true citizen. America believes that the right to vote is the right to rule, and expects you to use that power wisely, confidently, loyally, and well. Today, especially, liberty means responsibility.

America expects Effort. In America the key to opportunity bears the label, “work”. The men and women who wrested homes and farms from

the wilderness, the millions who have here achieved new and successful lives, all turned this key with the diligent labor of hands and minds. And today whether he works in mine or factory or field, in business or in the arts, every citizen stands at the door of opportunity with the same unfailing key in hand. No true American accepts the despairing creed that government "owes him a living." His pride is in his own strength and courage; in his will to serve family, community and nation. * * *

And, above all, America expects Patriotism. Patriotism in word and thought and deed. It expects you to so live that America will be a better place because you are a part of it. It expects you to put into practice all that you have learned by studying the Constitution and the laws and the principles of this country. It expects you to attest in your every activity an unswerving devotion to America—the America to which you have sworn allegiance, the America in whose service you are proud to live, the America in whose defense you are willing to die; America, the hope of humanity."

RAYMOND PITCAIRN.

(Excerpts from Today We are Americans All. Copyright. 1942.)

Meaning of Freedom

“IF FREEDOM FAILS * * *

* * * They speak of Liberty and of the struggles and sacrifices by which Liberty was won. To all the world they proclaim the glory of a nation created not to make its leaders strong but to make its people free. And to all Americans they hold a message vital in its import, compelling in its urgency.

Freedom, * * *, is never permanently secured. By each successive generation it must be defended anew. Always its price remains eternal vigilance. Always its preservation demands faith and valor and sacrifice.

And Freedom, * * *, is a peculiar trust of our nation. Here, Free Government was established; here it must be preserved. With the privileges that liberty brings comes the responsibility of upholding it.

But, runs a solemn assurance, in our battle to keep men free, we do not fight alone. Back of each of us is the past free life of America. Back of all of us is the spirit of the Founders which our national shrines immortalize.

Washington is with us, and Jefferson and Lincoln. John Paul Jones and Anthony Wayne and Davy Crockett still uphold our arms. The men who fell at Lexington, at Gettysburg and Chateau Thierry are at our side. All who fought for freedom, all who knew the great devotion, are still our comrades and exemplars.

With such a comradeship, we cannot hesitate. With such a leadership, we cannot fail. Under such a responsibility we dare not falter. * * *

Hold high the Light of Liberty.

That is America's message to all her citizens. That is her message to you . . .

“For what avail the plow or sail,
Or land, or life, if freedom fail”

RAYMOND PITCAIRN.

(Excerpts from TODAY WE ARE AMERICANS ALL. Copyright 1942.)

LIBERTY

Freedom exists only where the people take care of the government.—WOODROW WILSON (1912).

Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint.—DANIEL WEBSTER (1847).

Liberty is an old fact. It has had its heroes and its martyrs in almost every age. As I look back through the vista of centuries, I can see no end of the ranks of those who have toiled and suffered in its cause, and who wear upon their breasts its stars of the legion of honor.—EDWIN HUBBELL CHAPIN (1868).

Liberty will not descend to a people, a people must raise themselves to liberty; it is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed.—CHARLES CALEB COLTON (1821).

Liberty is to the collective body what health is to every individual body. Without health no pleasure can be tasted by man; without liberty, no happiness can be enjoyed by society.—HENRY ST. JOHN BOLINGBROKE (1735).

When Freedom, from her mountain-height,
 Unfurled her standard to the air,
She tore the azure robe of night.
 And set the stars of glory there.
She mingled with its gorgeous dyes
 The milky baldric of the skies,
And striped its pure, celestial white
 With streakings of the morning light;

* * *

Flag of the free heart's hope and home!
 By angel hands to valour given!
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
 And all thy hues were born in heaven.

Forever float that standard sheet!
 Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
 And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us?

—JOSEPH RODMAN DRAKE (1817).

Not until right is founded upon reverence will it be secure; not until duty is based upon love will it be complete; not until liberty is based on eternal principles will it be full, equal, lofty, and universal.—HENRY GILES (1875).

Freedom is necessary to the scientist and inventor more even than to other men. Great ideas cannot be properly developed in an atmosphere of fear and coercion.—IGOR SIKORSKY (1940).

God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.—DANIEL WEBSTER (1834).

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.—JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN (1808).

There is only one cure for evils which newly acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day, he is unable to discriminate colors, or recognize faces. The remedy is, to accustom him to the rays of the sun.

The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinions subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend, and begin to coalesce. And, at length, a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos.

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.—THOMAS B. MACAULEY (1850).

The idea of governing by force another man, who I believe to be my equal in the sight of God, is repugnant to me. I do not want to do it. I do not want any one to govern me by any kind of force. I am a reasonable being, and I only need to be shown what is best for me, when I will take that course or do that thing simply because it is best, and so will you. I do not believe that a soul was ever forced toward anything except toward ruin.

Liberty for the few is not liberty. Liberty for me and slavery for you means slavery for both.—SAMUEL M. JONES (1890).

Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!—PATRICK HENRY, in a speech before the Virginia Convention in St. John's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Va. (1775).

The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time.—THOMAS JEFFERSON in “Summary View of the Rights of British America” (1774).

I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than to those attending too small a degree of it—THOMAS JEFFERSON in a letter (1791).

I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.—NATHAN HALE, in a speech he made just before being hanged by the enemy as a spy (1776).

Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable!—DANIEL WEBSTER, in a public address (1830).

Public office is a public trust.—GROVER CLEVELAND (1884).

The humblest citizen of all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of Error.—WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, in a speech at National Democratic Convention (1896).

America is God's Crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! . . . God is making the American.—ISRAEL ZANGWILL, in the play, *The Melting Pot*.

We have been taught to regard a representative of the people as a sentinel on the watch tower of liberty.—DANIEL WEBSTER, in a speech to the Senate.

They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in *Historical Review of Pennsylvania*.

CONFESSTION OF FAITH

Because I am an American I believe: In fair play; in good sportsmanship; in being kind and helpful to others; in cooperating with others for the good of all; in respecting the opinions of others; in respecting the rights of others; in the right of free discussion; in settling conflicts by conference; in the dignity of work; in equal educational opportunities for all; in respecting the rights of private property; in open opportunity for the individual; in the rule of the majority; in an honest ballot; in freedom of speech; in freedom of the press; in freedom of religion; in justice for every citizen; in trial by jury; in arbitration of disputes; in orderly legal processes; in freedom from unreasonable search and seizure; in the right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances; in the right of the people peaceably to assemble; and, in the responsibility of every individual to participate in the duties of democracy.—Published by the Macmillan Co., New York.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

If you limit the search for truth and forbid men anywhere, in any way, to seek knowledge, you paralyze the vital force of truth itself.—PHILLIPS BROOKS (1835-1893).

To proclaim a true and absolute soul freedom to all the people of the land impartially so that no person be forced to pray, nor pray otherwise than as his soul believeth and consenteth.—ROGER WILLIAMS (1607-1684).

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

I should feel myself called upon to protect an infidel or Mohammedan paper, if assailed; or to reestablish it, if destroyed; as much as a paper designed to advocate the truths of Christianity.—EDWARD BEECHER (1876).

Give me but the liberty of the press and I will give to the minister a venal house of peers. I will give him a corrupt and servile house of commons. I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office. I will give

him the whole host of ministerial influence. I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him, to purchase up submission and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed. I will attack the mighty fabric of that mightier engine. I will shake down from its height corruption and bury it beneath the ruins of the abuses it was meant to shelter.—RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN (1810).

EQUALITY

By a divine paradox, wherever there is one slave there are two. So in the wonderful reciprocities of being, we can never reach the higher levels until all our fellows ascend with us. There is no true liberty for the individual except as he finds it in the liberty of all. There is no true security for the individual except as he finds it in the security of all.—EDWIN MARKHAM (1902).

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by a difference of sentiments in religion appear to be deprecated.—GEORGE WASHINGTON (1789).

Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.—JAMES MADISON (1776).

Do nothing to others which you would not have them do to you. Now I cannot see how, on this principle, one man is authorized to say to another, “Believe what I believe, and what you cannot, or you shall be put to death.”—FRANCOIS VOLTAIRE (1765).

Who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God and to save his own soul according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose?—JOHN MILTON (1649).

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

I do not believe in a word that you say, but I will defend with my life, if need be, your right to say it.—FRANCOIS VOLTAIRE (1759).

No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and un gagged. Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man’s life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion, no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how

false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves. If there is anything in the universe that can't stand discussion, let it crack.—WENDELL PHILLIPS (1855).

It is more dangerous to shut people's mouths than to stop the waters of a river. To stop the progress of a river means to force it to expand and thus do more harm than if it had been allowed to take its natural course. Such is the case with people. If you want to prevent the damage threatening from the inundation of a river, you have to lead it into a proper bed which will hold all of its waters; if you want to make an impression on the people, let them have perfect liberty of speech.—A CHINESE PHILOSOPHER (2000 B. C.).

Political liberty implies liberty to express one's political opinion orally and in writing, and a tolerant respect for any and every individual opinion.—ALBERT EINSTEIN (1933).

Ideas are always liveliest when attempts are made to suppress them. The very worst way to suppress an idea is to attempt to suppress it. For, if an idea is true, you can't suppress it, and if it is false it does not need to be suppressed—it will suppress itself. If we all agreed finally and for good, talking would be nonsense. But because we disagree, talking is the part of wisdom.—HORACE TRAUBEL.

THE LAW

True law recognizes that man is sacred to man, that the degradation of any man is an assault upon mankind. It is the practical application of the doctrine of human brotherhood. There is no place in true law for racial pride, religious bigotry, or claims of superiority. Pride and bigotry are born only in inferior minds, minds that cannot grasp the universality and the beauty of the law. Men of strength and courage, men who love the law arrogate to themselves no superiority. They take pride only in their equality. Since the aim of the law is justice, the general good and common weal, no man, no party, no faction, no nation can have interests which transcend the law. The blessings which flow from the common weal are greater than any gains from selfish efforts.

The history of the United States is a living refutation of the dictators' assertions that democracy's faith in law has failed. Here men of all races, colors and creeds have enjoyed freedom of trade, freedom of conscience, freedom of expression and a common wealth and level of life never before attained. What has been done in the United States can be done in all the world. The blessings of law which we enjoy we offer to share with all who accept the law. By sharing those blessings with others we increase them for ourselves. But the coordination of effort to that end cannot be based upon race or color or militarism. The bond of unity must be the law.—ROBERT N. WILKIN, Judge, United States District Court, Northern District of Ohio. (Excerpt from address delivered over WHK, March 19, 1942.)

Examples of and suggestions for

Programs

THE PROGRAMS given on the following pages, with the exception of the one suggested by the Committee on American Citizenship of the American Bar Association, exemplify some ceremonies that have actually been held. Identifying data, such as dates, places, and names of individuals and organizations participating, have been deleted.

The ceremonies go beyond the minimum requirements for conferring citizenship. The various times and places at which they have been held indicate how some of the handicaps to a good ceremony, such as time and space, may be overcome. One rather elaborate program, which however was expeditiously presented and took only twenty-nine minutes, was given in a United States District Court room; another was given in a municipal auditorium as the attendance exceeded the capacity of the local court room; still another was at an evening session in the county court house. The ceremony that was held in a park in connection with the "I Am An American Day" exercises is illustrative of many such ceremonies held after the taking of the oath of allegiance.

PROGRAM

(Suggested by the Committee on American Citizenship of the American Bar Association. Draft prepared by F. Lyman Win-dolph, member of the Lancaster County Bar, Lancaster, Pa.)

At the day and time appointed for the ceremony of naturalization the persons to be naturalized shall take seats in the body of the court room. The crier of the court shall say:

The Honorable, the Judges of the United States District Court for the _____ District of _____. Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! All persons having business with the Honorable, The United States District Court for the _____ District of _____, are admonished to draw near and give their attention for the court is now sitting. God save the United States and this Honorable Court.

The judges of the court shall take their places on the bench. Then the designated examiner shall say:

May it please the court, the Constitution of the United States empowers Congress to establish a uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States.¹ Our fathers did not seek to keep America for themselves. They did not rest their hopes for the future on a single generation or a single nationality. On the contrary, they believed that ordinary people of any nationality, if they can agree about fundamental principles and are willing to fight, if necessary, in order to preserve them, are wise enough to make self government practicable and strong enough to make self government safe. Since 1790 our laws have provided continuously for the naturalization of aliens, and every generation of Americans has been enriched by persons who have come to this country from abroad, eager to share in the blessings that America has to bestow on the terms on which she is willing to bestow them. In accordance with laws passed under the authority of the Constitution I now move that the petitions for naturalization filed by the following persons be granted.

The designated examiner shall read the names of the persons or shall present to the court a list containing their names. Then the presiding judge shall say:

Has it been shown to the satisfaction of the Department of Justice that these petitioners have resided within the United States during the periods

¹ Article I, Section 8.

required by the Acts of Congress and that during all of these periods they have been and still are persons of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States? ²

Then the designated examiner shall say:

On behalf of the Department of Justice I am authorized to say that this showing has been made.

The presiding judge shall say:

The motion is granted. As it was given to our fathers in old times and as our fathers have given to us, so we give. The petitioners will rise.

The petitioners having risen, the presiding judge shall say:

You are about to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. This oath has two parts. In the first part you will absolutely and entirely renounce allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty. These words are plain. The oath means what it says. When you have taken it you will owe all your allegiance to the United States. The natural allegiance by which you have been hitherto bound will be destroyed as completely as if it had never existed. I charge you that if any person among you has a different intention in taking the oath you reveal it now to the end that the petition for naturalization filed by that person may be withdrawn or dismissed.

If there is no answer, the presiding judge shall say:

In the second part of the oath you will swear to support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Our fathers came to America from many lands. They wanted many things—the opportunity to work and to acquire property, freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, freedom of speech, freedom from imprisonment without a fair trial. These wants were afterwards summed up in the Declaration of Independence in the statements that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. The rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence are moral rights. Our fathers wanted to make them political rights as well. Therefore they built the politics of the Constitution of the United States on the morals of the Declaration of Independence.

The Constitution is the instrument by which the people of the United States instituted the form of government under which we are living. Their

²Act of Congress of October 14, 1940, 8 U. S. C. A., Section 707.

purposes in doing so as set forth in the preamble were to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity. The Constitution has been changed from time to time in the past and will perhaps be changed from time to time in the future. But the principles of the Constitution as our fathers expressed them have never been changed. If we thought that you did not agree with these principles we would not want you as fellow citizens. Because we are persuaded that you do agree with them—because we believe that you will keep your oath to support and defend the Constitution, no matter what it may cost in blood or in money—we are about to admit you to the privileges of native born Americans. In your new dignity you will not be known as subjects. You will be known as citizens—and if citizens then joint heirs with your fellows of the great Americans by whom the Constitution was ordained.

Do not be deceived. Every privilege begets a corresponding duty. We promise you the pursuit of happiness. We do not promise you happiness. We promise you equality of opportunity. We do not promise you riches. We promise you freedom of speech. We do not promise you wisdom. We promise you liberty. We do not promise you peace.

Then the presiding judge shall say:

The petitioners will come forward to the bar of the court.

The petitioners, either together or in groups of convenient size, shall then go forward to the bar of the court. When they have done so the presiding judge shall administer the oath of allegiance in the following form.

You hereby declare, on oath, that you absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which you have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that you will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that you will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that you take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: So help you God.³

The petitioners shall severally answer: "I do."

Following the administration of the oath the newly naturalized citizens may, if desired, resume their seats in the court room and someone designated by the presiding judge may deliver an additional address upon the form and genius of our government and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.⁴

³ Act of Congress of October 14, 1940, 8 U. S. C. A., Section 735.

⁴ Act of Congress of May 3, 1940, 8 U. S. C. A., Section 727a.

PROGRAM

(*Held in a District Court of the United States*)

1. Opening of court
2. Motion by chief naturalization examiner
3. Granting of motion by Judge, who turns proceedings over to Defense Chairman
4. Advance of double color guard under direction of Defense Chairman
5. Invocation *Chaplain*
6. Address *National Officer Patriotic Organization*
7. Judge directs clerk to administer oath of allegiance
8. Clerk, United States District Court, administers oath to applicants
9. Address by Head of Immigration and Naturalization Service
10. Defense Chairman directs advance of colors and rising of audience for pledge of allegiance
11. Pledge of allegiance to flag *Entire audience*
12. Address *Judge*
13. Defense Chairman directs audience to stand for national anthem and announces it will be sung by Miss -----, prominent soprano, audience requested to join in final verse
14. National anthem

PROGRAM

(*Held in a District Court of the United States*)

1. Opening of court
2. Advance of colors
3. Invocation *Minister*
4. Motion by naturalization examiner of the Department of Justice
5. Granting of motion by judge
6. Address *Officer, Patriotic Organization*
7. Presentation of American Flag and "The Flag Code"
8. Address of welcome and congratulations *Judge*
9. Instructions to new citizens *Chief Deputy Clerk*
10. Oath of allegiance administered to new citizens . . *Audience standing*
11. Retirement of colors
12. Adjournment of court

PROGRAM

(*Held in the Common Pleas Court, County Courthouse*)

1. Opening of court
2. Advancement of colors
3. National anthem
4. Address of welcome
5. The American's Creed
6. Address
7. God Bless America
8. Presentation of certificates by
the presiding Judge
9. Pledge of allegiance
10. America
11. Retirement of colors
12. Closing of court

PROGRAM

(*Held in County Courthouse*)

1. America	Audience
2. Invocation	Minister
3. Song	High School Chorus
4. Instructions to applicants	Judge
5. Administering oath of allegiance	Clerk of District Court
6. Song	
7. Address	
8. Song	
9. Pledge to the flag	Clerk of the District Court
10. Presentation of flags	Civic Club Through Their Representative
11. Drill on the flag code and presentation of copies of flag code to the applicants	

Americanism Committee of Patriotic Club Auxiliary

12. Star-Spangled Banner	Audience
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PROGRAM

(Held in District Court Room under the auspices of patriotic organization)

1. America. Singing led by patriotic club auxiliary and audience, accompanied by band.
2. Advance of colors by color bearers
3. Examination of applicants *Naturalization Officer*
4. Administering oath of allegiance *District Judge*
5. Presentation of citizenship certificates to new citizens

Clerk of the District Court

6. Address of welcome *Minister*
7. God Bless America. Singing led by patriotic club auxiliary and audience, accompanied by band
8. Star-Spangled Banner. Singing led by patriotic club auxiliary and audience, accompanied by band
9. Colors retired by color bearers

PROGRAM

(Held in a municipal auditorium)

JUDGE OF DISTRICT COURT

CLERK OF DISTRICT COURT

PRESIDENT OF THE WOMEN'S FORUM

CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING

CHAIRMAN OF THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

1. Music by band of 75 pieces, giving such numbers as American Patrol, Stars and Stripes Forever, and others
2. Naturalization ceremony conducted by Judge
3. Presentation of flags
4. Song—There Are Flags of Many Nations
5. Salute to flag
6. Music—Star-Spangled Banner

(Students above the sixth grade admitted to the balcony)

PROGRAM

(*Held in the County Courthouse, evening session, under the auspices of the Chairman of the Americanism Committee of Patriotic Organization*)

1. Overture—God Bless America
2. Opening of court *Court Crier*
3. Advance of colors
4. Song—America *Entire assemblage*
5. Pledge to the flag
6. Welcome to the new citizens *President of Civic Club*
7. Address *Head of Patriotic Organization*
8. Selection *Band*
9. Address *Presiding Judge of the County Common Pleas Court*
10. Presentation of naturalization certificates *Judge*
11. Presentation of manuals and American flags . . *Patriotic Organization*
12. National anthem *Entire assemblage*
13. Retirement of colors

(*Oath of allegiance had been administered in court 2 or 3 days earlier*)

PROGRAM

(*Held in Honor of New Citizens following Naturalization*)

1. Star-Spangled Banner *Combined Bands of Two High Schools*
2. Colors
3. Pledge of allegiance to the Flag *Boy Scouts of America*
4. Invocation *Minister*
5. Selection *Bands*
6. Address of Welcome *Officer, Patriotic Organization*
7. Response *New Citizen*
8. Presentation of Judges of the Circuit Court, Assistant Director of Immigration and Naturalization, and Officers of the Patriotic Organization
9. Selection *Patriotic Organization*
10. Address *Prominent Citizen*
11. Song—God Bless America
Patriotic Organization, Auxiliary Octet, the Bands, and Audience

PROGRAM

CELEBRATION

"I AM AN AMERICAN DAY"

(*Held in a Park*)

JUDGE, PRESIDING

PART I

1. Musical Selections	<i>High School Band</i>
2. Invocation	<i>Minister</i>
3. I Am an American	<i>Vocal Solo</i>
4. Opening Remarks of Welcome	<i>Judge</i>
5. Presentation of Naturalization Class	 <i>District Director of Naturalization and Immigration</i>
6. Presentation of Citizenship Certificates to Class	<i>Judge</i>

PART II

PAGEANT

"The Re-Declaration of Independence of 1941"

1. Scene:

The Continental Congress of 1776

The Signing of the Declaration of Independence of the United States
of America

Staged and Directed by

2. Re-Declaration:

Representative Groups of Patriotic and Service Organizations
Rededicate Themselves to the Principles Embodied in the Declara-
tion of Independence

Narrator

3. Acceptance of the Re-Declaration on Behalf of the City . . . Mayor

4. The Star-Spangled Banner Audience

(*Immediately following the program, first summer band concert*)

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[Compiled by ARTHUR ROBB, *Legal Research Attorney, United States Department of Justice*]

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